## The Scandinavian Languages



## THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

An Introduction to Their History

Einar Haugen

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#### TO EVA

Nogle maa skee meene og/ at der var vel andet/ i det Latinske og Grædske sprog/ hvor paa jeg heller buurde at anvende tiden. Men mig bør jo først at vide mit sædernes land og dets sprog nogen ære. Tilmed hasve saa mange skresved om bemeldte sproge/ at det var bedre at asstasse nogle af de bøger/ end at skrisve slere; Og de skeste Skrisbentere tage sine bøger af de forrige; de gisve dem aldeniste et nyt nasn/ eller naar de ville gjøre det godt/ forsandre de oordene og ordenen/ men tale intet om dem/ af hvilke de hasve laant sit.

Peder Syv, Nogle Betenkninger om det cimbriske Sprog (1663)

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#### **Preface**

THE idea of writing this book came to me long before the opportunity presented itself in the form of a request from Alf Sommerfelt that I take over his commitment to Faber and Faber's The Great Languages series. In my teaching, first at the University of Wisconsin and later at Harvard, of a course in the History and Structure of the Scandinavian Languages I was constantly in search of a manual that would compress into one volume the information needed for the course. Now that I was actually faced with the necessity of trying to produce such a manual myself, I found that the materials I had collected for the course were not adequate. The field was too large and was constantly expanding. A grant from the National Humanities Foundation and another from the National Science Foundation (GS 1748) made it possible for me to spend the year 1967-8 preparing myself for the writing. In the spring of 1968 I took the opportunity to visit colleagues in the universities of Scandinavia and discuss the project with them. They were extraordinarily helpful in giving me access to their seminar libraries and in filling the holes in Harvard's remarkable collection of Scandinavica. What I learned (even from prowling the second-hand book stores) was precious, but overwhelming.

Most of the actual writing had to wait until I could again get a year free of academic duties, my Harvard sabbatical in 1971–2, supplemented by a continuing grant (GS 28968) from the National Science Foundation. Several false starts had convinced me that I could not manage the mass of materials without sacrificing either the readability or the completeness of coverage. I decided to aim at the beginning graduate student and the intelligent general reader. I have therefore begun by surveying the setting of the Scandinavian languages of today and providing an introduction that would hopefully satisfy the general reader. Having learned what is in the first seven chapters, he can either lay the book down and turn to something else, or, if his appetite is whetted, he can get down to business and find out in detail how a single language splits up into dialects and develops new languages out of old. The graduate student, of course, can simply skip the early chapters and start right in on the mysteries of runology.

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Even if I would, I could not conceal my bias in favor of the sociolinguistic approach to language. Each chapter opens with a historical section, followed by a discussion of the sources from which we derive our knowledge of the language of a given epoch. The setting (what I have elsewhere ventured to call the 'ecology') of language has been of more concern to me here than the details of the linguistic change itself. This is not a comparative grammar in the strict sense of that word; it is a sociolinguistic sketch of the historical development of the Nordic languages. The linguistics in the book is fundamentally that of traditional school grammar, which has always served me splendidly as a standpoint from which to judge the passing fads in linguistics. The book is thus neither a study of langue by itself nor parole by itself, but of langage, the indivisible tissue of human communication. I hope that the data presented and the discussions I have reported may stimulate the reader to make his own researches and develop whatever more refined theories of language he will, by going to the sources I have pointed out in textual references and bibliographies.

Two by-products of the same project are a research report on Scandinavian linguistics from 1918 to 1968 by Thomas L. Markey and myself (Current Trends in Linguistics, vol. IX, and also as a separate volume published by Mouton) and a Bibliography of Scandinavian Languages and Linguistics 1900–1970 (Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1974), in which I have had as co-editors Tove Kangas, David Margolin and Mette Markey. In expressing gratitude to this four-leaf clover I am merely acknowledging that without their aid this book could not have been written. Professor Markey's special competence in Swedish and Germanic linguistics has been indispensable, since it has complemented my own competence. His skill as a dialectologist is reflected in the maps he has drawn, which it is hoped may add to the perspicacity of the volume.

Beyond these primary participants in the joys and woes of this volume I am most happy to acknowledge the special contributions of a number of persons who have either read preliminary versions of the book or offered valuable suggestions while it was in gestation: Janez Orešnik of Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, who made a minute critique of a section of the manuscript; Nils Hasselmo, who read the final manuscript and offered suggestions; James Cathey, whose ordered rules I adopted and then had to abandon; Aslak Liestøl, whose Bergen

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runes overwhelmed me; Finn Hødnebø, who helped me with the Telemark text (11.7.a); my colleague Theodore M. Andersson, who worked on Venantius Fortunatus (8.6); Peter Skautrup and Elias Wessen, whose work I have admired, emulated and pillaged and who have both encouraged my efforts by gifts of their work and friendly comments; my colleagues whose aid in 1968 and at other times enabled me to go on with the work: Poul Andersen, Christian Lisse, Ella Jensen, Inger Ejskjær, Anders and Marie Bjerrum, Niels Åge Nielsen, Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Jørgen Larsen, Jón Helgason, Kristian Ringgaard and my lamented friend Paul Diderichsen in Denmark; Gösta Holm, Bertil Malmberg, Kerstin Hadding, Bengt Loman, Eva Gårding, Ture Johannisson, Sture Allén, Nils Jörgensen, Carl-Ivar Ståhle, Sven B. F. Jansson, Claes-Christian Elert, Hans Karlgren, Valter Jansson, Lennart Moberg, Harry Ståhl, Folke Hedblom, Bertil Molde, Gösta Bergman, Gun Widmark, Ragnhild Söderbergh, Björn Hagström, Dag Strömbäck, Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt, Bengt Sigurd in Sweden; Carl-Eric Thors and Per Solstrand in Finland; the late Didrik Arup Seip, Trygve Knudsen, Hallfrid Christiansen and Bjarne Berulfsen in Oslo, and of the living Magne Oftedal, Dag Gundersen, Olav Beito, Einar Lundeby, Ludvig Holm-Olsen, Carl-Hjalmar Borgstrøm, Alf Hellevik, Ingeborg Hoff and Per Hovda in Norway; Christian Matras and Bjarni Niclasen in the Faroes; Hreinn Benediktsson, Halldór Halldórsson and Jakob Benediktsson in Iceland. Of American colleagues I should mention the late Assar Janzén and Håkon Hamre, as well as Gösta Franzén, Nils Hasselmo, Kim Nilsson and Sigrid Valfells, whose work has impinged on this book at some point or other.

I could hardly assume responsibility for the book after this roster of distinguished names if it were not for the constant support and inordinate patience of my wife, to whom this book is dedicated.

E. H.

Cambridge, Mass. May 1972



### Section A

# INTRODUCTION: THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES TODAY



## Chapter 1

## Location and Identity

1.1 Definitions. The Scandinavian languages are, as the words suggest, the languages of Scandinavia. This is not as simple as it sounds, for there is disagreement on just what 'Scandinavia' includes, and there are languages spoken in Scandinavia which are not, under our definition, 'Scandinavian'. In the narrowest sense Scandinavia includes only the Scandinavian peninsula, i.e. Norway and Sweden; for reasons of cultural and linguistic continuity, Denmark is usually added. Within this core speakers normally expect to be understood when speaking their native languages. Neighboring Finland to the east is problematic, since its dominant language, Finnish, belongs to an entirely different family, the Finno-Ugric. In view of the fact that Swedish is also an official language in Finland and that Finnish history and culture are intimately tied to Sweden's, we shall consider Finland a part of Scandinavia or at least of Norden, as the Scandinavians prefer to call this larger concept. To the west there are what may be called the 'insular' Scandinavian languages (contrasting with the 'mainland'), which resulted from colonization by Scandinavians: Faroese in the Faroe Islands, a semi-independent possession of Denmark, and Icelandic in Iceland, since 1944 an independent nation. These differ enough from the mainland languages to require mutual learning for comprehension, having gone their own ways in many respects, but they are unmistakably (and even fiercely) Scandinavian, having preserved features that are lost elsewhere. We shall also include Greenland, a possession of Denmark, though Danish is only a second language for most of the (Eskimo) population.

Scandinavia or Norden, as here defined, will therefore include the five sovereign nations of *Denmark*, *Finland*, *Iceland*, *Norway* and *Sweden*. Together these constitute a socio-cultural area, sharing much of their history and displaying many common culture traits. One of these traits is the kinship of the dominant languages, which it will be

our purpose to study. There are six official, literary languages, plus a great variety of spoken dialects, all descended from the Common Scandinavian (CSc) spoken, roughly, from A.D. 550 to 1050. The literary (standard) languages are Danish (Da), Dano-Norwegian (DN), New-Norwegian (NN), Swedish (Sw), Faroese (Fa) and Icelandic (Ic). The languages which we will exclude from our consideration (except for a few notes below, 1.5) are Finnish, the chief language of Finland; Lappish, also a Finno-Ugric language, spoken by the Lapps; Eskimo or Greenlandic, the language of the Greenlanders; Romany, the language of the Gypsies; and such a West Germanic language as Low German (LG), spoken by a few citizens of Denmark.

**1.2 Locale.** The name 'Scandinavia' arose through an error made by a Roman geographer, Pliny the Elder (d. A.D. 79), who described a 'great island' in the Baltic which he called *Scadinavia* (in his *Historia Naturalis*). He must have heard something like \**Skaðin-aviō*, which could be an early form of Old Norse *Skán-ey*, now known as *Skåne*, the southernmost tip of modern Sweden. Later on an *n* crept into it by contamination with another Latinization of the same, *Scandiae*. The origin of the term is uncertain; one sensible reading makes it a compound of \**skaðin* 'dangerous' (cf. German *Schade*) and \**aviō* 'wet place, island' (cf. German *Aue*). It could have been named by seamen navigating past the coast of Skåne into the Baltic, at a time when the Danish Sound was still full of reefs and sandbanks.

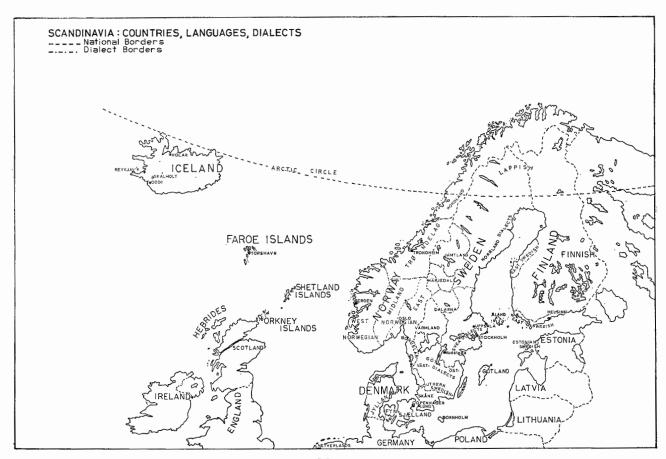
This process of naming reflects the position of Scandinavia on the rim of the classical world, too far away for anything but a confused report on its nature and existence. Even today Scandinavia is the most northerly part of the world that sustains independent nations; other areas at the same latitude are Siberia, Alaska, northern Canada and the Soviet Union. It runs from 55° N beyond the 80th parallel, towards the Arctic Ocean, and from the western tip of Greenland at 72° W of Greenwich to the eastern border of Norway and Finland at 31° E (the same as from Boston, Mass. to Cairo, Egypt). Most of this huge expanse consists of the chilly waters of the North Atlantic and the Baltic, which have played major roles in shaping the fates of the Scandinavian languages (Map 1). The paths of communication have been the sea routes, while the often rugged land masses have constituted barriers that made it unfeasible for Scandinavians to unite under a single government. Geography helps to account for the striking

difference between the unification of such languages as German and English and the diversity existing within Scandinavia.

In Scandinavia itself the usual term for the five countries when considered together is Norden, 'the North'. Some efforts have been made to introduce this term into English, especially by those who feel that 'Scandinavia' excludes Finland. The corresponding adjective is nordisk, for which the English equivalent would be 'Nordic'. These terms are certainly handier than the sesquipedalian (and frequently misspelled) terms in 'Scan-', but we shall defer to the more general usage and retain 'Scandinavia' and 'Scandinavian' (abbreviated Sc), resorting to 'Norden' and 'Nordic' for stylistic relief. In some language textbooks 'Norse' is used in the same sense, but this invites confusion with the proper meaning of the term, which is 'Norwegian'. We shall here use it chiefly in the combination Old Norse (ON), as a name for the standardized Old Norwegian/Icelandic of the textbooks.

1.3 Population and Resources. The five countries of Norden are unequal in size and wealth, though with comparable standards of living. Current figures are presented in Table 1; the Faroes, though under Danish sovereignty, are counted separately, for linguistic reasons. In size Norden is a little smaller than Alaska, but sustains nearly one hundred times as large a population. On the other hand, it is more than five times the size of the United Kingdom, with less than half its population. As the figures show, Denmark is small and densely settled; it is a relatively flat, fertile and urbanized country. Sweden's southern and eastern parts are similar to Denmark, but the west and north are heavily forested. Finland is mostly forest with lakes, while Norway is mostly forest with mountains. The Faroes and Iceland are barrenly mountainous and volcanic in origin. Agriculture is important everywhere, but there are great differences between the intensive butter-and-egg economy of Denmark and southern Sweden, the dairying-cum-fishing and forestry of Norway, northern Sweden and Finland, and the sheep ranching with fishing of Iceland and the Faroes. Only Sweden has important mineral resources, the basis for her famous steel industry; Norway counters with unlimited water power and spectacular scenery. Shipping and commerce are of prime importance; Norway's merchant marine alone is among the largest in the world.

1.4 The Scandinavian Languages. The standard languages are



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distributed as follows within the countries: Danish is official in Denmark, while it shares official status with Faroese in the Faroe Islands. Dano-Norwegian and New-Norwegian are official in Norway; when either one or both are being referred to without distinction, we shall merely speak of Norwegian (Nw). Icelandic is official in Iceland. Swedish is official in Sweden and (with Finnish) in Finland. While the literary languages are taught in the schools in a more or less standardized form in each country (below, Chapter 2), and are therefore clearly distinct, the spoken languages (below, Chapter 4) show much

Country Size in mi<sup>2</sup> **Population** Density (per Capital Population square mile) Denmark 16,629 4,950,598 298.0 Copenhagen 805,331 Sweden 173,648 8,091,782 46.6 Stockholm 780,486 Finland 130,128 4,602,254 Helsinki/ 517,000 35.4 Helsingfors Norway 125,049 3,891,739 31.1 Oslo 481,204 Iceland 39,768 Revkjavík 81,684 204,578 5.6 The Faroes Tórshavn 6,014 540 38,000 7.0 Total 485,762 21,778,951 44.6 2,671,719

Table 1. Countries of Scandinavia

(Figures do not include outlying possessions, e.g. Greenland; estimates of population are for 1969-71, taken from *Britannica Book of the Year*, 1972.)

greater variation and even a gradual transition from country to country. People can often be spotted as coming from a particular region or locality, either by their accent in speaking the standard language, or by their local dialect if they have preserved it.

The languages most closely related to Scandinavian in the modern world are the other Germanic languages, including English, German, Dutch and Frisian. Not only are these descended from the same Proto-Germanic (PGmc) ancestor, but as neighbors they have mutually influenced one another. Details will be offered later, but we may here suggest that the languages just listed belong to a group known as the West Germanic (WGmc) languages, which split away from North Germanic (NGmc) or Scandinavian during the period of the Germanic migrations, say A.D. 100–450. The oldest written remnants of any Germanic language are the runic inscriptions of Scandinavia; but (as we shall see) it is uncertain whether these are wholly North Germanic. There was also a group of languages known as East

Germanic (EGmc), chiefly represented by Wulfila's (fourth century) translation of the Bible into *Gothic*. The Proto-Germanic ancestor of these dialects was, in turn, a branch of the great Indo-European family, extending from Iceland to India and covering most of Europe.

r.5 The Non-Scandinavian Languages. The present political boundaries of Norden are far more restricted than they were in the medieval and early modern period, but even so they extend beyond the area of properly Nordic-speaking peoples. We shall here sketch briefly the status within Norden of the languages we are excluding: Finnish, Lappish, Eskimo, Low German and Romany. Their presence has created problems of language learning and bilingualism within the more highly integrated nations of today, problems which are far from being solved.

Finnish is a Finno-Ugric language, most closely related to Estonian, more remotely to Lappish and Hungarian. It has been a literary language since 1542, when the Bible was translated by Michael Agricola, but its greatest literary monument is the folk epic Kalevala (1835), recorded (and to some extent created) by Elias Lönnroth. Finnish speakers were brought under Swedish rule in the twelfth century and remained with the crown of Sweden until their annexation by Russia in 1809. As an autonomous Grand Duchy under Russia, Finland made rapid strides toward the independence which was finally won in 1917. This period saw the rise of a Finnish nationalism, which in the course of the nineteenth century promoted Finnish from a dominated to a dominant language. Today Finland is officially bilingual, but according to the census only about seven percent of the population is natively Swedish-speaking. Perhaps as many more have learned enough Swedish in school to use it in communication with other Scandinavians. Conversely, there are enough Finnish speakers in Norway and Sweden (e.g. in Tornedalen on the Swedish-Finnish border) to constitute something of a minority language problem.

Lappish is also a Finno-Ugric language, though not mutually intelligible with Finnish. It is spoken in sharply varying dialects and has no universally accepted literary norm, though some teaching materials have been prepared for the elementary schools. Lappish speakers were gradually brought under Scandinavian rule during the medieval and early modern periods. Today they inhabit the arctic and subarctic parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, numbering roughly

34,000, two-thirds of them (about 22,000) in Norway, one-third (about 10,000) in Sweden, 2,500-3,000 in Finland, 1,500-2,000 in the Soviet Union. Traditionally they carry on reindeer herding, but today many have become sedentary. They have inhabited their present areas for some two thousand years and are showing little inclination to be absorbed by the dominant Scandinavian culture. It is probable that they represent an aboriginal European stock.

Eskimo (West Greenlandic) is closely related to the dialects spoken by other Eskimos across the northern parts of Canada and Alaska. The Greenlanders occupied the abandoned sites of Nordic settlers in Greenland in the late Middle Ages. They fell under the rule of Denmark in the fourteenth century, when that country asserted its claim to the old Norwegian colonies after its union with Norway. Some 30,000 Greenlanders are Danish citizens today and get schooling in both Eskimo and Danish.

Some Low German speakers are found north of the present border between Denmark and Germany, as some Danish speakers are found south of it. This is the result of a constant push and pull between Danish and German interests along the border; for centuries Danish speech slowly retreated northwards. The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein have long formed a buffer state between Denmark and the Germans. As the result of a plebiscite after World War I Schleswig (Danish Slesvig) was divided into a Danish and a German part, but such dividing lines can rarely produce a neat division of speakers.

Romany is spoken by some thousands of Gypsies living within the borders of Scandinavia. As in other countries, they tend to remain unassimilated; Romany is their secret language and common bond. While the basic vocabulary derives from Indic, they have added many loanwords along the way of their migrations. The structure is often that of the local language in the country where they live. There are various dialects or varieties, including the deviant 'Rotwelsch'. Some words have entered from Romany into the criminal argot and even the slang of the Scandinavian languages, e.g. popular Swedish tiej, Norwegian kiei girl (Ward 1936).

r.6 Norden: Unity in Diversity. On the basis of the above figures we may estimate the number of native users of each Scandinavian language, referring primarily to potential writers and readers rather than speakers: Danish 5 million; Dano-Norwegian 3 million;

New-Norwegian 750,000; Swedish 8½ million; Icelandic 200,000; Faroese 35,000. Since most of these can make themselves understood to all the others, we may reckon up a total communicating population of something over 17 million. One could add another million emigrants and their children in the United States and elsewhere, but there are no firm figures on their language competence.

Nordic unity is not closely knit, since each country jealously guards its sovereignty, and there is neither linguistic nor political identity among the countries. This is a loosely federated culture area, within which the peoples feel akin and the governments practice constant consultation and co-operation. For a Scandinavian to visit one of the other Nordic countries is like being both abroad and at home. Within Norden there is often more sense of rivalry than unity; but away from their countries Scandinavians find each other. Their common cultural heritage includes a century or so in the Middle Ages under a common (Danish) king. They have been living in their present area at least since the Neolithic period, without major invasions to alter either the composition of the population or the basic patterns of language and culture. When they burst upon their neighbors as Viking raiders in the ninth century, they were organized into many small local kingdoms without marked differences of speech. Together they underwent the experience of being Christianized by the Roman Catholic church in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and together they followed their kings out of Catholicism into Lutheranism in the sixteenth. Together they became literate and 'enlightened' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, industrialized and socialized in the twentieth. Feudalism and autocracy yielded step by step to democracy, as the aristocrats were forced to give up their power, first to the middle classes and eventually to the whole people. Without becoming one, the Nordic countries have always kept an eye on one another and have tried to emulate one another's progress. In this development the common linguistic heritage has played its part, both as a medium of communication and as a symbol of unity.

#### References

1.2 Locale. A comprehensive treatment of the etymology of *Scandinavia* is Svennung (1963); for other views see Lindroth (1932) and Skånland (1968). On the use of *Norden* see Bergman (1955: 61).

- 1.3 Population and Resources. There are many books on Scandinavia; for a recent treatment see Connery (1966).
- 1.4 The Scandinavian Languages. Three brief introductions to the history of the Sc languages are available: Wessén (1944; Ger translation 1968), Steblin-Kamenskij (1953), Walshe (1965).
- 1.5 The Non-Scandinavian Languages. On the position of Swedish in Finland see Ahlbäck (1957–8), Barck (1960) and Puntila (1950). On the Lapps see Nesheim (1963), Ruong (1967) and Wiklund (1948). On Danish and Eskimo see Gad (1957). On the various kinds of Gypsy languages see Bergman (1931) for Sweden, Iversen (1944, 1945, 1950) and Refsum (1945) for Norway. On Finnish as a literary language see Collinder (1968); on its use in Sweden see Hansegård (1967, 1968).

## Chapter 2

## The Literary Languages

2.1 Icelandic. Icelandic is the 'classical' language of Scandinavia, having retained most faithfully the structure and lexicon of Old Scandinavian. It has the longest unbroken tradition of writing, dating from about 1100 (earliest known MSS c. 1150). The classical period of writing (1150–1300) not only brought the greatest flowering of medieval Scandinavian literature, but preserved for posterity a wealth of traditional prose and poetry from the past of all Germanic peoples. These Norwegian colonials maintained a republic down to 1263 with a culture at once profoundly original and European. The language was weakened during the subordination of Iceland in unions with Norway (1263–1385) and Denmark (1385–1944), but the writing tradition survived. In 1540 it was confirmed by a printed translation of the New Testament, followed by the whole Bible in 1584 (11.6.2(4)).

The language and orthography of the Bible built on scribal tradition, but with a strong seepage of Danish influence which was not strongly resisted until the eighteenth century. In 1918 a consistently traditional, even archaizing orthography was established, which (with minor changes in 1929 and 1974) is in general use today. The orthography reflects the conservatism of the grammar and conceals a number of drastic changes in pronunciation by using etymological spellings, e.g. by distinguishing y from i (both [i]) and y from i (both [i]) or by writing accent marks which in Old Icelandic (when used) reflected vowel length but now reflect different vowel quality (as in the examples just given). The orthography brings Icelandic readers closer to their medieval literature, but children pay for the privilege by having to put more effort into learning to spell.

Grammatical and lexical conservatism is a source of pride to Icelanders, and was deliberately nourished in the nineteenth century as a symbol of national resistance to Danish domination. Among the factors that account for the conservatism through the centuries of

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obscurity may be mentioned the inner coherence and contact within the Icelandic community, the isolation from outside influence, and the force of the living literary tradition. As in Old Icelandic, the nouns distinguish three genders, each with four cases in singular and plural; for each gender there is more than one declension and numerous irregularities. Articles, pronouns and adjectives show similar declensions and agree with the nouns they modify. In addition to distinguishing weak and strong conjugations, the verbs have distinct suffixes for three persons in the singular and plural in the present and past, plus a fairly full set of subjunctive endings. Icelandic is the only Scandinavian language which still lacks an indefinite article. In the pronouns the dual 1st and 2nd persons were promoted to plurals (vit we two  $> vi\delta$  we; pit you two  $> pi\delta$  you) while the old plurals became polite pronouns ( $v\acute{e}r$  we;  $p\acute{e}r$  you).

By comparison with other Scandinavian languages Icelandic also shows extraordinary conservatism in its policy toward foreign borrowing. It is the only Scandinavian language in which a large part of the lexicon does not consist of obvious loans from German (and Romance). New vocabulary is deliberately created by severe adaptation of foreign roots (as when 'tubercle' became berkill) or by the creation of compounds which correspond literally to the original meaning of the international terms (as when 'geology' became jarðfræði, lit. 'earth-science' from Greek (Gk) geō- earth and Greek/Latin (Gk/Lat) -logia science). This 'puristic' policy is considered a dam against foreign influences that might threaten the autonomy of the language, but it also sets up a barrier against easy reading of Icelandic by other Scandinavians.

**2.2 Faroese.** Since 1948 Faroese has been taught in the schools of the Faroe Islands as a first language and it is now widely used for literary purposes alongside Danish. Contrary to Icelandic, its writing tradition is short and thin, having begun in the eighteenth century with the notation of traditional dance ballads, for which the islands are justly famous. Aside from some Faroese-tinted Old Norwegian texts from the Middle Ages, the earliest texts in Faroese were three ballads recorded *c.* 1773 by J. C. Svabo.

Svabo's orthography was essentially phonemic, but based on Danish spelling conventions, e.g. Old Norse tið time and maðr man were written Tuj and Meavur. While these spellings reflected clearly the

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drastic changes in Faroese pronunciation, they were felt to be ignoble for a language that should become the vehicle of a national culture. In 1846 a literary orthography was devised by V. U. Hammershaimb, which was based on the Old Norse-Icelandic tradition, and in the long run has proved more acceptable. The two examples above were now spelled exactly as in Icelandic,  $ti\delta$  and  $ma\delta ur$ , in spite of the difference in pronunciation; the symbol  $\delta$  was introduced as an etymological and structural marker although its sound nowhere corresponded to that of Icelandic. The task of the child learner is therefore even greater than in Iceland, but the arguments that have made it withstand all assaults contend that it eliminates dialect differences, gives the language dignity and inner harmony, and brings it into line with the historical tradition of the Scandinavian languages.

The semi-Icelandic spelling has made some think of Faroese as an Icelandic dialect, but its form is in fact intermediate between Icelandic and West Norwegian dialects, with enough distance from both to make it unintelligible, unless spoken very slowly. As in Icelandic and West Norwegian long vowels have been diphthongized, most strikingly and uniquely the development of i and j to [uj], as in  $ti\delta$  above, and the 'sharpening' of intervocalic glides (jw) to stops (gjgv), e.g. eyjar islands > oyggjar [åddjar],  $sj\delta r$  sea  $> sj\delta gvur$  [šjegvur] (through an intermediate  $sj\delta vur$ ). Contrary to Icelandic, but like West Norwegian, Faroese has affricated palatalized gk sk to [djtc šj] and has made p into t, but has its own unique treatment of p in pronouns, making it now p (hetta this), now p (tap that), where Norwegian has p (New-Norwegian detta, det). The grammar is also intermediate in retaining the persons of the verb and the cases of the noun, but losing the active use of the genitive (like New Norwegian). Faroese is also more like the Norwegian dialects in being highly fragmented.

Daily Faroese speech is strongly infused with Danish loanwords, a deposit of the many centuries of political dependence on Denmark and the consequent bilingualism of most Faroese speakers. In writing, a determined effort has been made to follow the lead of Icelandic and eliminate all possible Danish loans, replacing them with innovations, e.g. mynd picture for bilæti (Danish billede), siglingarfrøði navigation (Icelandic siglingafræði, Danish navigation), leiðarbræv passport (Icelandic leiðarbréf, Danish pas). A purely native creation is kollvelting revolution, originally meaning to capsize (cf. Old Norse kollvarpa overturn, Danish omvæltning upheaval).

The development of a native literature was slow, but there is a respectable body of poetry, fiction, textbooks and journalism today. Danish is still in a very strong position, since the population is too small to sustain a large literary or scientific production of its own.

2.3 New-Norwegian. New-Norwegian is one of the two official languages of Norway, now known as *nynorsk*, but formerly called *landsmål*. Its written norm was established by the linguist and poet Ivar Aasen in the middle of the nineteenth century. After gaining its first official recognition in 1885, it spread rapidly through the western and midland regions of Norway; today it is taught as a first language to about one-fifth of the schoolchildren of the country, virtually all rural. Since about 1870 it has developed an extensive literature, including some of the more celebrated writers of Norway.

The establishment of New-Norwegian was intended to serve two purposes: on the one hand the restoration of a native tradition of writing that had been interrupted around 1400 after the political union with Denmark, on the other the creation of a language that would better serve the needs of the common people of Norway than the written Danish of the urban élite. The first purpose was clearly nationalistic and made New-Norwegian one of many symbols that led forward to Norwegian independence in 1905. The second purpose was democratic in tenor and appealed to many who worked for liberal reforms in the nineteenth century.

Aasen established his norm definitively in Norsk Grammatik (1864) and Norsk Ordbog (1873) after some experimentation based on his extensive fieldwork on Norwegian dialects. His norm may be regarded as a reconstruction of an ideal form for the dialects, one which Old Norwegian might have attained if it had not died out. Like Hammershaimb's norm for Faroese, it was conceived as continuing a historical tradition and was therefore more conservative than any one dialect. Among the features he established as ideally characterizing the Norwegian dialects in 'purified' form were: (1) diphthongs: ei au e e for Danish e e e, e.g. e e e e for Danish e e for Danish e e for Danish e e for Danish e for

thanks, hopp hop (Danish let, tak, hop); (5) introduction of the feminine gender of nouns, which had coalesced with masculine in Danish, e.g. ei sol a sun, soli the sun; ei vise a song, visa the song (Danish en sol, solen, en vise, visen). Like Hammershaimb and for similar reasons, Aasen introduced silent letters where the coherence of paradigms required it, writing, e.g. kastade threw, kastat thrown, where most dialects said only kasta for both; tid time, god good, huset the house, usually pronounced [ti:, go:, hu:sə]. The result was a spelling which, like Icelandic and Faroese, showed strongly traditional features, but which still remained less grammatically complex than either of these languages (e.g. no dative or accusative, no personal verb forms).

Aasen's policy of lexical selection, as illustrated in his dictionary and in his writing, was predictably puristic. His basic vocabulary was that of the dialects to the extent that they had not deviated from native usage, but he rejected words of obviously German origin even if they were widely used in speech and writing, especially words with nonnative affixes like an-, be-, er-, ge-, -else, -het. For learned purposes he tried following the Icelandic model of creating new words, but never succeeded in eliminating the Latin-Greek element. Today words like radio and telefon are as common in New-Norwegian as in the other mainland Scandinavian languages.

Controversy has followed the course of New-Norwegian from the start, not only from the supporters of the status quo, but also within the camp of its adherents. Assen's norm was criticized as too conservative (dependent on Old Norwegian), sectional (West Norwegian in form), vulgar (countrified, lower-class), inadequate (lacking terms for modern civilization), etc. Since its official establishment as a standard language, many of these objections have been met by a gradual evolution of the norm away from Aasen's base in the direction of Dano-Norwegian (below). It has shown remarkable power in poetic and literary usage, since it sums up in its form the chief traits of rural speech with its overtones of nature, home and the intimate, but without the specific localisms of any one dialect. In learned and scientific writing it lacks suppleness and often seems like little more than a calque of Dano-Norwegian. It may be regarded as a kind of 'second' language for Norwegians, having an appeal similar to Robert Burns's language for a Scotsman, in one sense a resource language on which writers in the 'first' language are privileged to draw. Its supporters' hopes of making it the 'first' language of Norway are dim

today, since growing urbanization has deprived it of much of its natural base. It also suffers from the fact that it has no natural community within which it serves as a spoken language; all dialect speakers who adopt it do so after childhood and with some effort.

2.4 Dano-Norwegian. Dano-Norwegian is the term adopted here for the official Norwegian language known as bokmål 'book language' or more widely as riksmål 'official language'. Outside the context of controversy over choice of language, its supporters and users think of it quite simply as Norwegian (norsk) and any allusion to its Danish origin is felt to be insulting (since its opponents use the term 'Danish' abusively). It is the language taught to four-fifths of the schoolchildren and used by an even higher percentage of the adult population of writers. It has its natural speech base in the educated, upper middleclass urban population, which continues a century-old tradition of speaking an amalgam of formal Danish with informal Norwegian. This 'high colloquial' language of the cultivated classes varies regionally and socially, but has perpetuated itself quite naturally because of the prestige of its users and in spite of official pressure towards a more Danish pronunciation in the nineteenth century or towards a more Norwegian one in the twentieth.

The existence of such an intermediate norm was first clarified by Knud Knudsen, a linguist and educator, at about the same time as Aasen began his work. In a grammar of 1856 and numerous other writings he advocated a step-by-step Norwegianization of the Danish spelling as an alternative to Aasen's more revolutionary approach. Knudsen supported Aasen's elimination of the voiced postvocalic consonants  $(\bar{b} dg)$ , and his purification of the vocabulary, but he did not wish to break so radically with the long-established Danish tradition as to introduce immediately the diphthongs or the feminine gender where these were felt as unnatural by cultivated speakers. Knudsen's policy was accepted in whole or part by such leading writers as Bjørnson and Ibsen, but the breakthrough of his dream did not come until after his death. Spelling reforms, which also dug deep into the grammatical system, were adopted in 1907, 1917 and 1938, moving Dano-Norwegian over from a Danish base to a Norwegian one along principles advocated by Knudsen, but also taking Aasen's work into account. The hope of many participants in this movement was for an eventual amalgamation of the two languages into a single

form, one for which the name samnorsk 'United Norwegian' was proposed by Molkte Moe in 1909. Its realization seems farther off today than some years ago; peaceful coexistence is the current solution.

Dano-Norwegian may be characterized as a language showing a complex but viable interplay between a Danish and a Norwegian stylistic layer. Some patterns recognizably continue the Danish tradition, others are drawn from Norwegian speech, e.g. the universal use of -e as the vowel of weak syllables is Danish, while the use of postvocalic voiceless consonants (p t k) and the doubling of consonants after short vowel are Norwegian. Points 3 and 4 on Aasen's list above are fully accepted, while 2 is rejected; 1 and 5 are shibboleths that are partly accepted and partly rejected, the New-Norwegian forms being used to characterize informal words or situations, the Danish forms formal ones, e.g. stein is used for boulders, sten for jewels; the feminine definite article -a is normal in hytta the cottage, but vulgar in dronninga the queen. While ardent supporters of the traditional Dano-Norwegian norm resist the Norwegian elements, young people show a trend toward a more informal and therefore Norwegian style. Whatever elements of the Danish tradition remain are not kept on because of pressure from Denmark; they have been thoroughly naturalized. Dano-Norwegian grammar is simpler than that of the other mainland languages, aside from the complications resulting from the interplay with New-Norwegian and Norwegian speech. Its Danish learned vocabulary and its Norwegian sound system make it an interesting intermediary between Danish and Swedish.

The existence of two standard languages in Norway does not seriously affect oral communication, any more than the existence of local dialects; in fact, some regard the languages as merely dialects. It is chiefly a problem for educators, officials, students and writers, who bear the burden of Norway's search for linguistic identity.

**2.5 Danish.** Literary Danish is restricted to Denmark and its possessions the Faroe Islands and Greenland, where it functions as a second language; at one time it was also official in Norway and Iceland and parts of present-day Sweden and Germany.

The scribal tradition goes back to the thirteenth century, though peculiarly Danish features can be found even earlier in runic inscriptions. A rapid development away from Old Scandinavian appears in MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with radically new DANISH 39

forms appearing first in Jutlandic writings and spreading into Sjælland, where the literary language was ultimately established. The major traits of the Danish standard were fixed by the Bible translation of 1550. The eighteenth century brought with it a further normalization, including a moderate purification of German loanwords and their replacement by a few native creations. Firm spelling rules for school usage were adopted in 1889 and still apply, except for a small superficial reform in 1948, when aa > a and common nouns lost their capitals, a move designed to bring Danish closer to its neighbors, Norwegian and Swedish.

Danish has gone farther than the other Scandinavian languages in reducing the 'body' of its words, so that even when they are written, the consonants and vowels that follow the stressed vowel count for very little, e.g. Old Norse baka bake, which in Icelandic, Faroese and New-Norwegian is still baka and in Dano-Norwegian is bake, is Danish bage, pronounced something like [ba:a], with a virtually inaudible glide to represent the second syllable consonant and vowel. Uvular r [R] has replaced tongue-trilled r [r] and is itself no more than a vocalic offglide in postvocalic position. Postvocalic stops have become softly pronounced spirants, e.g. ut out > ud [u:  $\eth$ ], and when geminated the voiced and voiceless stops have been shortened and coalesced, so that rykke shake and rygge backs are both [røgə], with a voiceless g. When we add to this that the central Scandinavian tones of Norwegian and Swedish have been replaced by glottalization, leaving what sounds vaguely like a hiccup in a word like mand [man?] man, it is not surprising that other Scandinavians find Danish difficult to understand when spoken. The vocalic system of stressed syllables is richer by one phoneme than Swedish or Norwegian, but the spelling is often deceptive, e.g. y represents [y] in skylde owe, but [ø] in skylle rinse. While there are regional norms of pronunciation in Jutland and Bornholm, among others, the most prestigious pronunciation is that of an educated Copenhagener.

The morphology retains the basic outlines of the Old Scandinavian system, including the suffixed definite article and the mediopassive suffix, but has lost all inflectional suffixes (except the fixed -s of the genitive), aside from noun plurals and verb preterites. Gender remains only as a distinction between a neuter and a non-neuter form (also called 'common', because it is a coalescence of m. and f., Old Scandinavian einn, ein one, haninn the cock, honan the hen, having

become en, hanen, hønen, respectively). The reduction of unstressed vowels to e (a strongly slurred [3]) has left all the old plurals as -e, with a new plural in -er partially replacing the old plurals without ending. In imitation of German usage, the third person plural pronoun de, pronounced [di], object form dem, has become a polite pronoun of address, and then spelled De (Dem), cf German Sie.

As in Swedish, the lexicon and the syntax are strongly influenced by German, as is only natural in view of the centuries of Danish dependence on its neighbor to the south. The language is vigorous today, however, with a great literature in all fields. There is a rich flora of current innovation, including slang and other jargon, as well as free borrowing from other languages, especially English. Danish is a supple and civilized language, in some ways more European than any of the other Scandinavian languages.

2.6 Swedish. The active use of Swedish extends into Finland, where it is a mother tongue in rural communities along the coast of Österbotten, opposite Sweden, and in some urban communities on the Gulf of Bothnia, plus the semi-independent Åland Islands. It is taught as a second language in Finnish schools, as a means of maintaining contact with other Scandinavian countries, but the results are modest and the status of Swedish in Finland is weak.

When the Swedish literary tradition was established (the earliest MSS are from the thirteenth century), there was little difference from contemporary Danish writing. But with the setting up of a strong and independent Swedish state in 1523 and the subsequent translation of the Bible, Swedish became a fully national literary language, developing along its own lines. Normative regulation was entrusted to the Swedish Academy (1786), but the orthographic norm proposed by the Academy in 1801 was not made official in the schools until 1889. Since then there has been only one conspicuous reform (1906), chiefly involving the excision of silent f and h before v (hvad what > vad, hafva have > hava, etc.). Since 1874 the Academy has issued a word list, which is revised at intervals and is widely regarded as authoritative for spelling and grammar. The Academy does not in fact prepare it any longer; in the words of one critic, the Academy 'maintains its authority by not exercising it'. An important and radical feature of the 1801 norm was its respelling of foreign, especially Romance-Latin, words to agree with their assimilated Swedish pronunciation, e.g.

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bureau > byrå, lieutenant > löjtnant, consul > konsul; from English, e.g. gang > gäng [jæŋ:], (to) shanghai > sjanghaja.

Standard Swedish developed in the Mälar-Uppland region where Stockholm and Uppsala are located, the chief centers of government and learning, but was also influenced from the Götaland region immediately to the south. A number of conservative features are maintained in the written language which are not now part of the spoken dialects of the Uppland region, e.g. final -t in the definite article and -ade in the weak preterites (huset [hu:sə] the house, kastade [kasta] threw). Swedish maintains the three traditional weak vowels, like New-Norwegian, Icelandic and Faroese, but contrary to Dano-Norwegian, Danish and many south Swedish dialects: dagar days, böcker books, veckor weeks (though many speakers pronounce the last type with -er). There is a tendency to encourage spelling pronunciation in official and scholastic usage. While cultivated Stockholm pronunciation has considerable prestige, there are strongly resistant regional norms, particularly those of south Sweden (skånska) and Finland (finlandssvenska). The vowel system (like that of Norway) reflects a counter-clockwise shift of qualities by the back vowels, so that o and u have approached general European u and v respectively. with a special type of near-consonantal overrounding.

The morphology is substantially the same as that of the other mainland Scandinavian languages, without case endings in the noun (except for the fixed possessive -s) or personal endings in the verb. A distinction of singular and plural was maintained in the verb until very recently, but only in writing. The system of singular and plural in the noun is somewhat more complex than that of Dano-Norwegian and Danish, but lacks the New-Norwegian complication of a feminine gender suffix. The pronouns are also much the same, except in the second personal forms, where Swedish has ni (from -n plus i) for you, pl. (as object er). The third person plural is written de (object form dem), but is generally pronounced dom; it is never used (as in Danish and Dano-Norwegian) as a polite pronoun of address. For this purpose Swedish has adopted ni, but usage has demoted this to a condescending form, which has to be replaced by titles in addressing strangers or superiors, e.g. Vad önskar herrn? What does the gentleman wish?, i.e. What do you wish? Sometimes passivization is resorted to, e.g. Vad önskas? What is wished? Swedes of equal status quickly turn with relief to the use of the informal pronoun du (object form dig).

Syntax and style range from a complex, Germanized convolution of sentences in learned and scientific usage to a racy, colloquial simplicity in the journalistic and literary world. There is frequent recourse to slang and other forms of jargon, some of it from English. While the vocabulary is strongly Germanized since the Middle Ages, technological and scientific vocabulary is largely Latin and Greek. Determined efforts have been made to find native replacements for some of the fashion words of our time, resulting in such creations as *veckoslut* for weekend, *tonåring* for teenager, and *plast* for plastics (below 5.5). Swedish today is a vehicle of the most complex writing in every genre, from atomic physics to modernist poetry.

### References

- 2.1 Icelandic. For a comprehensive introduction see Einarsson (1945); less adequate Glendening (1961). Zoëga (1942) is the only Ic-Eng dictionary, Bogason (1952) the only Eng-Ic, neither very good. The Ic-Dan dictionary of Blöndal (1920-4, with supplement 1963) is the classic work; a more recent source is the Ic-Ic dictionary of Böðvarsson (1963). For the history of Ic orthography see J. A. Jónsson (1959). On the problems of Ic purism see Helgason (1954).
- 2.2 Faroese. For a useful introduction in Eng see Lockwood (1955). M. A. Jacobsen and Matras (2. ed., 1961) is a Fa-Da dictionary, while Johannes av Skarði (1967) is a corresponding Da-Fa work; both are puristic and normative. The former contains an introduction on Fa phonology by Rischel. On Fa purism see Matras (1954).
- 2.3 New-Norwegian. In Eng there is only the outdated sketch grammar by Wright (1917). Aasen's grammar (1864) and dictionary (1873) are still the best sources (for discussion see Haugen 1965a). There are numerous school grammars (e.g. Heggstad 1914 and later), and now there is a comprehensive grammar of the modern language by Beito (1970). A massive dictionary of NN and the dialects is being prepared under the editorship of Hellevik (vol. 1, 1966). An Eng-NN dictionary is Raknes (1927); NN-Eng is included in Haugen (1965b).
- 2.4 Dano-Norwegian. Introductory textbooks in Eng are Haugen (1937), Haugen and Chapman (1964), Marm and Sommerfelt (1943). A student DN-Eng dictionary is Haugen (1965b); there is no comprehensive DN-Eng dictionary, but a large Eng-DN dictionary is by Berulfsen and Svenkerud (1968). The standard dictionary is Norsk Riksmålsordbok, ed. Knudsen and Sommerfelt (1937–57). On the language conflict see Haugen (1966b).
- 2.5 Danish. Introductory textbooks in Eng are Bredsdorff (1956), Dearden and Stig-Nielsen (1945), Diderichsen (1964a) and Kofoed (1958). A really comprehensive dictionary is the Dan-Eng Vinterberg and Bodelsen (1966); handier compilations are Magnussen, Madsen, and Vinterberg Danish-English

and English-Danish (1954). The standard historical dictionary is Ordbog over det danske Sprog (1918-52).

2.6 Swedish. Introductory textbooks in Eng are Björkman (1956) and Hildeman and Beite (1960). For the scholar A. Noreen's Vårt språk (9 vols. 1903–1924) is indispensable. A comprehensive Sw-Eng dictionary is Harlock (1944); more recent, handy dictionaries are Modern svensk-engelsk ordbok (1970) and its companion volume for Eng-Sw, Modern engelsk-svensk ordbok (1964). A large, illustrated Sw-Sw dictionary is Molde (1955); a handbook of Sw phrases is Johannisson and Ljunggren [1966]. The standard historical dictionary is Ordbok över svenska språket (1898–). On Sw spelling reform see Lindstam (1946). For a Sw-Eng dictionary of technical terms in all fields see Gullberg (1964).

## Chapter 3

### The Cultivation of Language

3.1 The Literary Tradition. As the brief sketches in the preceding chapter suggest, the six literary languages of Norden have arisen in relatively modern times. They were not based precisely on anyone's speech, but were artifacts developed in response to the centralization of power in the course of national development. In the once relatively homogeneous speech community of Scandinavia these languages have become symbols of national enclaves, creating a network of communication that stops at the nation's borders. They have become objects of concern, either as a precious heritage or as a badge of shame.

The primary users of the literary language were few in number when the older traditions were established, but with the establishment of universal schooling in the nineteenth century, their potential number grew to encompass the whole population. Even so the care and maintenance of the literary language (LL) is still primarily in the hands of professionals—the educators, writers, publishers and linguists. Educators are agents of the government policy, whatever it is, to imbue their pupils with adequate skills in the language. They are likely to be sympathetic to efforts intended to simplify the teaching problem, for example, spelling reform. Publishers, on the other hand, profit from stability and are likely to oppose such reforms. Writers are often sensitive to new ideas and willingly embark on experiments. but once they are established, their stake in maintaining the stability of the language is obvious. Linguists, in the guise of grammarians, have been engaged in the production of normative grammars and dictionaries, to reinforce the teaching and maintenance of a single, coherent standard in each language. With the development of dialectology and scientific linguistics, they have often rejected this ideal, being more interested in descriptive and historical study than in the establishment of norms.

3.2 Problems of Codification. A distinction must be made between

a writing tradition, especially before the invention of printing, and a standard language. Each scribe wrote as he had been taught, and there could be many different schools of writing in any one country. Printing, with its possibilities for mass appeal, required greater uniformity and regulation. This called for state control, at least in the school system. It is not coincidental that in 1786 the Swedish Academy was established to work for 'the purity, strength, and sublimity' of the Swedish language. With the nineteenth-century mass education, however, actual control fell into the hands of the respective Ministries of Education. The ministries had to seek the advice of experts, which in turn led to the appointment of official or semi-official advisory committees on language problems.

Today more or less permanent committees or commissions exist in all the Scandinavian countries and concern themselves with some aspect of language planning. These committees and the dates of their establishment are: in Finland Svenska Språkvårdsnämnden (1942), in Sweden Nämnden för svensk språkvård (1944), in Norway Norsk språknemnd (1951) [Norsk språkråd since 1971], in Denmark Dansk sprognævn (1955), and in Iceland İslenzk målnefnd (1964). The standardization of native terms in technology is the special concern of the Norwegian Rådet for teknisk terminologi (1938), the Danish Terminologicentralen (1941) and the Swedish Tekniska nomenklaturcentralen (1941). A number of publications have been issued by these committees.

These contemporary bodies have a wider concern than the national language: one of the motivations for their creation has been a desire to check the fragmentation of the Scandinavian languages and their terminology. It is provided in the statutes for each of the above committees that they shall be in touch with corresponding bodies in the other Scandinavian countries. One way in which this is implemented is to hold regular inter-Scandinavian meetings of the committees, initiated in 1954. A series of publications has resulted, under the title of Nordiske Språkproblemer (Norwegian; in Danish Nordiske Sprogproblemer, Swedish Nordiska Språkfrågor), reporting not only on the activities of the committees, but also containing many articles on the continuing cultivation of the languages. Since 1970 this publication appears annually as Språk i Norden.

Interest in the problems of the literary language is not confined to official or expert circles; they are of concern to all who make personal

or professional use of the literary languages. It is a striking fact to outsiders how frequently language problems are discussed in the popular press, and not just in countries like Norway or Finland where there are open controversies over the literary languages. Reformers and anti-reformers have been feuding in the public prints ever since the eighteenth century. Private organizations have been formed to promote or discourage change in the literary language. Creative writers have wrestled with the norms, confirming or rejecting them as the case might be, alternately declaring their hate and love for the medium of their art. The necessities of teaching have incited the production of textbooks, from grammars and dictionaries to readers and anthologies. In each country a corps of professional linguists has arisen, quartered usually in the universities as trainers of future teachers, who have devoted themselves not only to the fixation of native norms, but also to the study of the history, dialects and structure of the national language. The insights of linguistic science have more than once been at odds with the opinions of laymen, even the most sophisticated and literate, as linguists have tried to replace the emotions of the forum with the cold, clear light of science.

3.3 Teaching the Mother Tongue. Between the ages of seven and fourteen every Nordic child is required to be in school; a new Swedish reform extends this to sixteen. Provision is made for further voluntary schooling, either through vocational or academic institutions; the most important of the latter are the gymnasium (ages fifteen to nineteen) and the university. In all of these schools the mother tongue (MT) is an important subject. In the first two school years it is also the medium for teaching reading and writing and takes roughly half the pupil's time, as appears from Table 2. By the end of the sixth year the proportion has fallen to one-fourth, after which the mother tongue becomes just one of several subjects, taking from three to five hours a week, about ten to fifteen percent of the pupil's time. Throughout the pupil's schooling it is the chief medium for introducing him to the culture and literature of his country and (in translation) of the world. 'It must be one of the objectives [of mother-tongue teaching]', writes a Swedish educator, 'to teach all pupils to express themselves orally and in writing in such a way that they will be understood by other people with different abilities to assimilate oral or written presentations' (Orring 1962: 64).

In the secondary and higher schools the transition is made to literary interpretation and theme writing, involving the pupils in the devices of rhetoric, the most elaborate form of the literary language. In each country the mother-tongue teaching includes some modest training in the passive assimilation of the 'other' Scandinavian languages. The Danish curriculum, for example, provides for 'easy Norwegian and Swedish texts' to be read from the sixth year, though without any teaching of grammar or pronunciation.

Where there are *minority languages*, the same kind of dilemma arises here as in other bilingual countries. Lappish is used as an introductory

Table 2. Hours of Mother-tongue Teaching, by Years and Countries, of Total School Hours per Week

Years		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Denmark	MT	10	12	10	10	10	7	5	5	5	4	4	4
	Total	18	24	27	30	30	33	33	33	33	36	36	36
Sweden	MT	9	II	10	10	8	8	4	3	4	4	5	4
	Total	20	24	30	34	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
Norway	MT	10	9	8	6	6	6	7	4	5	5	5	6
	Total	18	24	24	30	30	30	30	36	35			

(Nelleman 1964: 21; Arvidson et al. 1959: 292-3; Normalplan 1957: 21, Undervisningsplaner 1964. Note that these figures are for urban schools; rural schools are often less fully developed.)

language in the Lapp districts of northern Scandinavia, but the schools quickly turn to Norwegian, Swedish or Finnish (Fi) as main languages. In Greenland Danish is taught from the third grade to those Eskimos who wish it as their main school language; the rest take it as a subject only. In the *realskole* (approximately high school) teaching is in Danish with only Eskimo and Religion taught in the native language. While Faroese is now the official language of the Faroe Islands, Danish is introduced very early in the school system. In Finland Swedish is a minority language in most of the country: where it is not the majority language of a community, it is taught as the first (or second) foreign language. In the eight-year primary school it gets three hours (of 31) in the seventh and two hours (of 30) in the eighth year; in the more academic five-year middle school (*mellanskolan*) it gets 4-3-3-3-2 hours (of 32) in the fifth to ninth years respectively and three hours in each year of the gymnasium (see 12.1.5 below).

3.4 Functions of the Literary Language. The two primary functions of the literary language are, of course, for writing and reading. All Scandinavian children are taught both skills in their primary schools, so that illiteracy is unknown. One can gauge the extent to which the population actually makes use of its literacy by the statistics on publication of books and newspapers and the circulation of library books. Table 3 shows the number of new titles (first editions) of books and pamphlets published in each country, as well as the total number of titles including the reissue of older books.

Table 3. New Titles Published, by Countries (1970)

	Denmar	k Sweden	Norway	Iceland (1963)	Grand total
New titles Total titles Titles per 10,000	4,000 5,052	5,893 8,481	2,865 3,935	491 513	13,249 17,981
inhabitants	10.2	10.5	10.1	26.7	10.5

(In Finland only 220 books were published in Swedish in 1969. The Icelandic figures are counted in the annual book catalogue. The other figures come from the statistical annuals of each country.)

The grand total of 13,249 new titles and 17,981 total titles may be compared with the corresponding figures for the United Kingdom (21,001—26,314) and the United States (46,017—54,378) in the same year. The number of titles per 10,000 population is higher in Norden than in either of the others: for all of Norden it averages 10.5, for the U.K. (pop. 54,436,000) 4.8 and for the U.S.A. (pop. 195,857,000) 2.8.

Languages differ with respect to the degree of their development for use in technological as well as in imaginative literature. There are no serious problems in either respect for the three major languages, Danish, Swedish and Dano-Norwegian (the special problems of Faroese, Icelandic and New-Norwegian will be treated below). A constant adaptation to the advances of the modern world through translation and original writing has made them fully capable of expressing the latest scientific and literary trends. If their users very commonly write scientific monographs in other languages, they do so as participants in international scientific activity. The categories in which new books are published in the Scandinavian languages, original as well as translated, cover the entire range of modern writing.

For example, the Danish book trade in 1964 published first editions of original works in the following categories:

Table 4. Original Danish Books Published, by Categories (1970)

Bibliography	113	Medicine	142	History	120
Philosophy	62	Technology	272	Biography	145
Religion	89	Agriculture, Gardening	119	Fiction	262
Law	107	Domestic	57	Drama, Poetry	105
Education	170	Commerce	122	Juvenile	147
Social Sciences	363	Arts	144	Miscellaneous	35
Geography and Travel	182	Games, Sport	66	Periodicals	466
Mathematics	84	History of Literature	25		
Natural Sciences	163	Languages	110	Total	3,670

Source: Danish Statistical Yearbook for 1971

The periodical press is an even more effective vehicle of the literary language, ranging as it does from the great metropolitan dailies of the major cities to the many local weeklies. Magazines include a few highly literary and esoteric journals, a number of specialized technical journals and many more popular or even sensational ones. The following table shows the number of dailies in each country, with approximate total circulation:

Table 5. Circulation of Daily Newspapers in Denmark, Sweden, Norway

	Denmark	Sweden	Norway
Number	58	149	81
Circulation	1,790,000	4,647,600	1,487,000
Copies per 10,000 inhabitants	3,616	5,620	3,821
Year	1970	1970	1970

Sources: Statistical Yearbooks

This makes better than one copy for every three persons in Denmark and Norway, one for every two in Sweden. Another indicator of literacy is the circulation of library books from public and school libraries.

If all readers read the same number of books, each would have read better than five a year. This is evidence of the vigorous use of the literary languages, but does not of course prove that all members of society exercise their literacy to the full extent. The book trade is constantly engaged in trying to expand its market. Figures published by Bokklubben in Oslo, Norway, suggest that forty percent of all men and forty-five percent of all women in the country never open a book. (*Nordisk Tidende*, 1 Feb. 1968, cit. from *Dagbladet*.)

Table 6. Public and School Libraries: Stock and Circulation

	(1969-70)		(1968-69)			
Country	Denmark	Sweden	Finland	Norway	Totals	
Stock of books Circulation Circulation per	19,556,000 44,670,000	45,347,351 70,992,176	11,282,000 29,513,000	10,802,644 14,780,648	86,987,995 159,955,824	
inhabitant	9.0	8.1	6.0	3.8	7-4	

Sources: Statistical Yearbooks

3.5 Scandinavian as a Second Language. The teaching of the Scandinavian languages as an 'other tongue' has a long tradition outside Norden, but is a fairly recent thing inside it. In the nineteenth century Scandinavian emigrants to America and other parts of the world established religious schools to enable their children to read the sacred texts of Lutheranism. Academies and colleges grew up for the training of pastors and teachers; until the turn of the twentieth century most of these conducted their teaching in Scandinavian, and even at the present time many of them maintain one or more of the Scandinavian languages as a voluntary subject. In areas with many Scandinavian immigrants some American universities have introduced the teaching of Scandinavian languages and literatures. Scandinavian instruction has also been available at English and German universities, less commonly in France and Italy; faculties have been established at Leningrad and Moscow in the U.S.S.R. A considerable number of textbooks have been written in connection with this instruction abroad, and a respectable body of scholarship concerning the languages. Most of this instruction has received little or no support from the mother countries until recent years; one exception is the Danish school system in Schleswig, south of the Danish border.

Within Norden two groups of learners have stimulated recent growth of interest in second language teaching: foreign students and immigrants. After World War II the general dispersion of students around the world has led to an influx of foreigners into Scandinavian universities as well. The peaceful and stimulating democratic progress of these countries and their contributions to world literature have aroused an interest in the study of their languages. Summer

courses have been established as well as some all-year courses at which the local language is taught along with other subjects. The other group of learners consists of immigrant workmen; this has led to the development of courses in some of the evening schools, especially in Sweden, where the problem has been most acute.

Thanks to the high degree of similarity between the mainland languages, the inhabitants of Denmark, Norway and Sweden are privileged to learn the literary languages of the other two countries as easy second languages. Prior to the great spelling reforms of this century in Norway, the Norwegian and Danish book markets were virtually one, since the readers in each country could interpret the identical written images according to their own habits of pronunciation. Now that Norwegian books appear in orthographies that more faithfully reflect native pronunciation, all three countries are faced with a learning problem in reading each other's books and periodicals. The deviations in spelling and vocabulary constitute a cultural tariff barrier which adds to the cost of inter-Scandinavian book distribution. There is widespread reluctance on the part of readers, who are humanly addicted to the law of least effort, to tackle their neighbors' books. Prodded by cultural leaders in all three nations, publishers have made valiant attempts to sell books in the non-local languages; and the schools, as we have seen, support them by giving some training in the grades. The results have been uniformly disappointing, except on the academic level; and publishers have turned to translating those books that have some hope of reaching a wide public. In 1965 Swedish publishers translated 35 Norwegian and 94 Danish books; even these modest figures are deplored by academic Scandinavians, who consider the effort involved in reading these languages ridiculously small for the return to be gained in the form of broadened horizons.

#### References

- 3.1 The Literary Tradition. See Diderichsen (1964b) and Haugen (1966a, 1966c) on the linguist's role, the Da author Johannes V. Jensen (1942) on the writer's role.
- 3.2 Problems of Codification. Survey articles on the activities of the normative committees are found in the publications of the Swedish committee (Skrifter utgivna av Nämnden för svensk språkvård) and in the joint series (Nordiske språkproblemer), e.g. Ahlbäck (1954) for Fi-Sw and Bergman (1954) for Sw, Hellevik (1954) for Nw, Nissen (1954) and Skautrup (1955) for

- Da, Halldórsson (1963-5) for Ic, Hänninger (1961-2), Karker (1956) and Lundeby (1954) for intra-Scandinavian. For a sharp critique of the theories behind language cultivation see Teleman (1965). Problems of technical nomenclature: Wennerberg (1952), Nomenklaturkommittéer (1955).
- 3.3 Teaching the Mother Tongue. Sweden: Orring (1962), Sjöstedt and Sjöstrand (1962); Iceland: Trial (1945); Denmark: Nelleman (1964); Norway: Normalplan (1957), Undervisningsplaner (1964). On minority problems: Gad (1957) in Greenland, Collin (1961–2) in Finland, Haugen (1973) in Sweden, Hoëm (1972) in all countries.
- 3.4 Functions of the Literary Language. The statistical yearbooks are: Statistisk Årbog 1967 (Danmarks Statistik, vol. 71); Statistiska centralbyrån: Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja (1966); Statistisk Årbok 1966 (Norges Offisielle Statistikk, vol. 12, p. 195); Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige, vol. 53 (1966).
- 3.5 Scandinavian as a Second Language. For a report on the teaching of Sc in America see Franzén and Bronner (1967); on earlier periods see Haugen (1953), chs. 6–7 and Franzén (1964). Other countries: Great Britain Næss (1962), Italy Gabrieli (1963), France Boyer (1965), Belgium Bolckmans (1964), Netherlands Boer-den-Hoed (1963), Soviet Union Pochljobkin (1962, 1666).

## Chapter 4

### The Spoken Languages

4.1 Speech and Writing. The prestige of the written and printed word has obscured for many the fact that speech is prior to writing in both the life of the individual and the history of the nation. In all the Scandinavian countries the literary languages discussed in the preceding chapter are relatively recent grafts on the tree of language. They are artifacts that have arisen in modern times in connection with the national unification of each country and are therefore fairly easy to enumerate and describe.

Not so the spoken languages (SLs). These reflect the unbroken continuity of the generations back to the first settlers, with all the minor and major changes that have resulted from social development on a local and personal level. Each little local community has developed its own variety of Scandinavian, microscopically but noticeably different from that of its nearest neighbors. The differences of one variety from its neighbor are cumulative as one moves through the country, so that remoter dialects are likely to be more and more different until one reaches a point of mutual incomprehension. Such varieties, arisen through the rooting of populations to local communities and the lack of wider contact, are usually called dialects. These are specifically rural and their differences as well as their likenesses can be mapped as isoglosses which show that historical changes have spread like waves through areas of intercommunication and stopped at such barriers to communication as mountains, rivers, oceans, or more important, political borders. The fact that individual features can travel in this way makes it impossible to say exactly how many dialects there are. If every parish or township or village is considered to have its own dialect, the number in Scandinavia alone would run into the thousands.

Since the development of geographical dialects is older than the formation of present-day nations, the national borders often do not

constitute dialect boundaries. South Swedish dialects, in the area once owned by Denmark, form a transition between Central Swedish and Central Danish dialects; together with the dialect of Bornholm they constitute East Danish from the point of view of Danish linguists. North Norwegian and North Swedish dialects have features in common, and along the Norwegian-Swedish border there are many contacts between neighboring dialects. West Norwegian dialects have much in common with Faroese and Icelandic, their nearest neighbors across the sea. With a little exaggeration one can say that from the southern border of Denmark one can move north and east into Sweden and Norway and westward to the Faroes and Iceland without ever encountering any great difficulty of understanding among immediate neighbors. As it happens, this is also the direction in which most changes within the Scandinavian area have moved, in the form of waves of influence from S to N or E to W, which were gradually spent, leaving an unequal residue in each community as they moved farther from their source.

The development of an urban and supralocal society led to the rise of a separate set of varieties from those we have just described. If we think of the geographical and rural dialects as horizontal, we may refer to these as vertical, because they are socially rather than geographically layered. The urban class structure is superimposed on the old rural society and constitutes a new set of groupings with its own inner norms and conventions. The working-class population is generally drawn from the immediate rural neighborhood, and its dialect is therefore similar to that of the nearest rural speech (for a detailed study see Reitan 1932 on the dialect of Røros). În time it will distinguish itself because its speakers are subject to other influences than those of their rural cousins. Most of them have become an urban proletariat, whose speech is held to be socially inferior by the 'upper' or 'élite' class who have most of the wealth and power in each country. This class, whether it is a wealthy bourgeoisie, a bureaucratic élite, or an aristocracy, will have many advantages in the form of access to education and travel, leisure for the cultivation of speech and the learning of foreign languages. The result will be the development of one or more prestigious forms of speaking, often in dependence on the written language or on foreign models, which mark the 'élite' off from the 'riff-raff'.

Within any society that is so divided there is likely, then, to be

a prestige speech which is considered 'correct' or 'cultivated' and which one does not customarily call a 'dialect', although objectively it is just another variety of the same basic language. Between this and the daily speech of the uncultivated there is likely to be a continuum of differences within which a great deal of variation is possible. Urban speech is not only ranged on a vertical scale from 'cockney' to 'standard'; it also comprises many special styles associated with the differentiation of urban society into interest groups. There are occupationally bound varieties which we may call 'jargon' and informal age-group varieties known as 'slang'.

4.2 Dialects and Isoglosses. Here the usual difficulties arise of deciding how many isoglosses it takes to make a new dialect. It is clear, however, that there is a bundling of isoglosses along the borders of the natural geographical divisions established as political and judicial areas in pre-Christian times. Such regional and tribal names as Telemark, Sogn, Trøndelag, Dalarna, Götaland, Skåne, Hälsingland, Fyn, Jylland represent reasonably unified dialects which arouse in their speakers a sense of fellowship with one another, even when the dialects have many internal differences and no precise boundaries. Each province (Swedish landskap) represents a coherent tradition in customs and speaking that goes back into unrecorded history. Larger than the provinces are the sections or regions, which constitute the first divisions of each nation as a whole. The following list reflects a set of rough groupings commonly made by dialectologists and corresponding to popular attitudes about dialect differences:

#### DENMARK

- 1. West Danish: Jylland (Jutland), divisible into West and East.
- 2. Central Danish: The islands Sjælland (Zealand), Fyn (Funen), etc.

### DENMARK-SWEDEN

3. East Danish = South Swedish: Skåne, Blekinge, adjacent parts of Halland and Småland; Bornholm.

# SWEDEN

- 4. Central Swedish: Göta dialects in West and East Götaland, Dalsland, etc.; Svea dialects in Uppland, Gästrikland, etc.
- 5. North and East Swedish: Norrland, Finland (with Estonia); Gotland (each of which is highly distinct).

NORWAY

6. East Norwegian: Lowland (Oslo-Lillehammer), Midland (Setesdal-Gudbrandsdal), Trønder (Trondheim area, including Nordmøre).

NORWAY (ctd.)

- West Norwegian: west of the divide, from Aust-Agder to Romsdal, divisible into a Southern, Central and Northern area.
- 8. North Norwegian: the three northern counties.

FAROES

Faroese: Northern, including Norðuroyar; Central, including Streymoy with Tórshavn; Southern, from Sandoy to Suðuroy.

ICELAND

 Icelandic: Some minor differences between South and North.

This outline does not provide for transitional dialects; also, some of the groupings include rather different varieties. Thus Trønder may be considered a separate dialect; on the other hand, North Norwegian is classed by some with East or West Norwegian; there is a special South Norwegian coastal dialect, intermediate between West and East. The dialects of Dalarna deserve to be a separate group, as does that of Gotland. Some dialects of western Sweden are transitional to Norwegian, e.g. Jämtland, Härjedalen, Värmland, Bohuslän, as South Swedish is to Danish. The Danish islands are far from uniform, etc.

4.3 The Use of Dialect. Today the use of local dialects marks a speaker as rural or untutored. The language he learns in school may be more or less similar to his own dialect, but it will never be identical with it (even allowing for the natural difference between speech and writing). Within his community the dialect will be relatively uniform, and is the true mother tongue of all speakers. If a dialect speaker leaves his community while he is still young enough to change, he will most likely modify his speech, either to agree with that of his new community or with the urban prestige speech. If he returns to his native community, he will be expected to speak exactly as he did before; if he does not, he will be suspected of snobbishness. This situation has put the dialects on the defensive: on the one hand they are the mother tongues of rural speakers, on the other they are generally unacceptable or at least conspicuous outside their community.

In the early modern period dialects ceased to be written for responsible purposes, as the standard literary languages developed; but they continued to flourish as vehicles of oral folk tradition. Folktales, ballads and legends were all in dialect, and with the coming of a romantic interest in these, they were written down in more or less normalized versions. Parallel to this use went a literature of mostly occasional verse, produced by educated persons who mastered local

dialect: e.g. the Norwegian writer Edvard Storm (1749-94) wrote poems in his native dialect while studying in Copenhagen. From the mid nineteenth century the rise of a realistic literature of rural life led to the frequent use of dialect in serious writing, usually to render dialogue, but also to enrich descriptions with words drawn from the dialects. Perhaps the earliest serious use was by the Dane Steen Steensen Blicher (1782–1848), whose stories in Jylland dialect are classic. The emphasis in Norway on the dialects as the source of a new national language led to a greater literary use than in the other countries. A written dialect is not subject to the same constraints of 'correctness' as the literary language. Hence the rendition of the forms of the dialect by popular writers is likely to be very approximate, sometimes just lightly suggested; an excessive concern with accuracy may even discourage and antagonize the average reader trained to read only the literary language.

The nineteenth century also saw the rise of scientific study of the dialects as important testimonials to the linguistic history of each nation. Fieldwork was undertaken among speakers of dialect (the Norwegian Ivar Aasen in the 1840s was the first); systems of phonetic transcription were devised (the earliest was J. A. Lundell's in Sweden in 1879). Archives were established for the preservation of information about the dialects, often with the additional purpose of collecting folklore. Academic posts were established for the study of dialect. Numerous monographs and articles have been written describing the dialects, their sound systems, grammar and vocabulary.

During this same period there has been a gradual retreat from the use of the dialects; the danger of their disappearance has even been a major motivation for studying them. Improved teaching in the literary language, opportunities for occupational and social mobility, shrinkage of the rural population, and encroachment of urban culture on the countryside have all contributed to dilute and change the dialects. In some communities close to urban centers it is difficult today to find genuine speakers of dialect even among the farming population. Many who speak it at home are ashamed or unwilling to speak it to strangers, so that one can get the impression that the dialect is gone even when it may still be alive in restricted functions.

Attitudes to the use of dialect vary greatly according to time and place. Dialects remote from the major urban centers may be admired as representing an especially precious national resource; this is most

obviously the case in Norway with such idioms as Telemarking, or in Sweden with Dalecarlian. Popular personalities, singers, politicians, or actors, may give vogue to a particular dialect by their skillful use of it on the national scene. The consequence may be a heightened self-consciousness and pride on the part of its speakers, who gain a sense of speaking a 'strong' or a 'beautiful' language. These are generally superficial currents, however, mobilized in exceptional cases, and applicable only when the dialects are not difficult to understand but at the same time have remained untainted by vulgar associations. Most dialect speakers who leave their community are met by considerable resistance to their native speech and adapt themselves more or less successfully to a new linguistic environment.

4.4 Urban Speech. When My Fair Lady swept through Scandinavia, translators were found in each country who succeeded in rendering Eliza's cockney into an acceptable equivalent. One needed only to draw on native tradition concerning lower-class urban speech. Local cockneys in each capital (Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo) had long been the sources of stock humor in popular songs, theatrical skits, cartoons and joke books. The rendition of these language forms was of course highly inaccurate and stylized, seizing upon certain features that would bring to mind the grosser aspects of uneducated speech. The slurring of sounds which is characteristic of all speech was often rendered in the spelling to suggest the supposed sloppiness of such speakers. It has not been until quite late in the development of linguistics that these dialects have found their chroniclers, who have objectively considered them for what they are: a varying blend of local, rural and prestige speech sifting down to the common man. It is characteristic that what are called 'city dialects' (Norwegian bymål, Swedish stadsmål) in the linguistic literature are often the dialects of the working classes. 'Stockholmska' or 'Københavnsk' are more likely to be pejorative than complimentary terms.

While the typical cockney may actually form a true dialect in the sense of having a distinct phonological and grammatical structure from that of either rural or prestige dialects, those forms of urban speech referred to as *slang* or *jargon* usually do not. If we understand *slang* as the conscious replacement of standard expressions by novelties created for humorous or in-group variety, we are dealing with lexical rather than grammatical deviation. In Scandinavia slang is

largely an age-group phenomenon, favored in the teens and student years. The very word slang has been borrowed into these languages from English and competes with the French borrowing jargon. As commonly in English, however, we shall use the latter word to mean the technical terminology of a professional group (e.g. the jargon of the medic), further reserving argot for the in-group language of criminals. All three exist in the cities of Scandinavia, without always a clear line between them. In many cases the items included are of foreign origin, nowadays commonly from English. These usages are an important source of innovations in the standard language, though most of them come and go without remaining permanent additions to the vocabulary. They reflect the kaleidoscopic nature of urban social life, with changing groupings and generations and a constant craving for novelty.

While some dictionaries of slang have appeared, much of the changing popular usage remains unrecorded. Current novels and plays make abundant use of them, as do newspaper columnists. Serious studies are still very rare.

4.5 Prestige Speech. In none of these countries is there a firm agreement on the 'best' way to speak the standard language; put in another way, there is no universally accepted standard speech norm. There is, however, a spectrum of closely-related prestige dialects in each country which we may call an educated *lingua franca*. The term 'educated' is here used to render such terms as Danish and Dano-Norwegian dannet, Swedish bildad, Icelandic menntaður, Faroese mentadur, which include not only the idea of having higher education, but also that of being 'cultivated, cultured'. There is evidence from as early as seventeenth-century Denmark of the existence of such a norm among the upper classes of Copenhagen. The Danish grammarian Gerner in 1678 advised all to 'learn from those who either are born in the capital of true Danish parents or are educated in the capital and at the university' (Skautrup 2.316). The centralization of power in the capital made a city like Copenhagen preeminent not only as an administrative center, but also as a model of good taste and learning. The ideal of a single unlocalized speech norm was a common European one, though in fact it was never completely realized anywhere. In Denmark, as in Sweden and later in Norway, practice varied from a literal spelling pronunciation used in reading sermons

and legal proclamations to an elastic norm including varying amounts of local idiom and pronunciation.

The power élite in each country was welded together by bonds of common experience and interest, which were naturally expedited by a common language. The upper-class norm came into being in situations not unlike those that bring forth pidgin languages, but contrary to these it included a large component of the literary language and was constantly under the influence of academic guardians. The possession of a common norm also set the élite off from the speakers of dialect or cockney, whose utterances could from now on be looked down on with scorn or amusement. Although the capital served as a locus for this development, its speech did not necessarily eliminate all variation or serve as an ideal norm. The regional norms mentioned above (e.g. jysk in Denmark or skånska in Sweden) still compete with those of the capitals and characterize their speakers without branding them as socially inferior, see Ejskjær (1964). Only in the Faroes and Iceland is there no consistent discrimination of standard from rural speech, chiefly because the class structure of the continent was never transferred to these countries. The spectrum of the koine or riksmål in each country includes not only the regional varieties, but also styles and registers. Styles may be characterized as formal (non-casual) when the discourse is directed to groups of persons on occasions having public significance (as are sermons, legal decisions, political discussions, orations, lectures, etc.). These are naturally marked by greater dependence on the literary language and its forms than are the informal (casual) styles, used in face-to-face interaction in small and intimate groups. Registers are used by individuals, e.g. in business, sports, entertainment, politics, religion, the arts-all have their special jargons which enter into the appropriate register for each role.

The teaching of correct speech has so far been of less concern to the schools of Norden than the teaching of the literary language. There is reluctance to uniform pupils into a standard pronunciation in view of the great regional variations and the natural resistances of local pride. In Denmark some provision is made for speech training in the schools. In Sweden there has been some discussion of the problem and a major investigation of the variation in pupil pronunciation (Bergman 1947). In each country there are norms which are taught to future actors for stage use; they tend to be bookish (e.g. for Icelandic a rigorously classical pronunciation, see Guðfinnsson 1947).

4.6 Intra-Nordic Communication. The intelligibility quotient for speech is rather different from that for writing. Spoken dialects may be either more or less intelligible to their neighbors than the literary languages. While the schools have made the literary language intelligible to all citizens, the spoken standard and the local dialects may be mutually unintelligible: as noted above, this is the case for Jylland dialect in relation to literary Danish. Here the schools have created a non-reciprocal relationship: standard speakers will be understood by Jylland speakers, but not vice versa. In general, the mutual understanding of local dialects will be proportionate to the geographical distance between them, with the extremes completely unintelligible. Within this area the literary languages and the spoken norms that accompany them have imposed a new unity within each nation, but have created new barriers between the nations. They are not absolute barriers, however, since the languages ultimately have a common base, and to some extent the mainland languages have all developed in a parallel direction. Spoken Danish offers great difficulty for all non-Danes in Norden, least for those in southern Sweden (the old Danish provinces) and for coastal regions in southern Norway (opposite Denmark). With training this barrier can be overcome (a course in Danish has now been prepared for Swedes, see Loman 1965a). Lexically Norwegians have virtually no problems with Danish, due to the long common history of Norway and Denmark, while Swedes have considerable vocabulary differences to overcome. Norwegians and Swedes have only minimal phonetic problems with each other, since their phonological structures are very close; but they do have vocabulary problems. The situation is different in reading: Norwegians can read Danish more easily than Swedish, thanks to a common tradition of writing which conceals many of the phonetic differences.

The consequences of this situation are apparent when Scandinavians visit their Nordic neighbors or listen to their broadcasts and TV programs or their films and theater productions. A certain amount of effort has to be expended to acquire even a passive command of the other languages. This is reflected in the fact that children generally understand other Scandinavians less well than do adults. The active mastery of the other Nordic languages is mostly not considered necessary: each mainland Scandinavian uses his own in contact with speakers of the others. The exceptions are workers who accept employment in one of the other countries, women who marry and

raise families, travelers who wish to avoid embarrassment. These often find it advisable actually to adopt the other language more or less completely, or even to resort to an international, non-Sc language. One rarely meets a person who has succeeded in acquiring a perfect mastery of more than one Scandinavian language; the results of the attempt tend to be an inter-Scandinavian, full of typical linguistic interference.

#### References

- **4.1 Speech and Writing.** For a discussion of the Sc languages as cultural artifacts see Haugen (1968). For general references on dialects see Brøndum-Nielsen (1927b).
- 4.2 Dialects and Isoglosses. Some important references are: Danish (Brøndum-Nielsen 1927b; N. Å. Nielsen 1959; Bennike and Kristensen 1898–1912); Norwegian (Christiansen 1946–8, 1954; Kolsrud 1951; Beito 1967); Swedish (Wessén 1935); Icelandic (Guðfinnsson 1946, 1964; Benediktsson 1961–2).
- 4.3 The Use of Dialect. The chief archives where dialect materials are stored and analyzed are: in *Denmark* Institut for dansk dialektforskning (Copenhagen) and Institut for jysk sprog og kulturforskning (Århus); in *Sweden* Dialekt och folkminnesarkivet (Uppsala), Landsmålsarkivet (Lund), Institutet för ortnamns- och dialektforskning (Göteborg); in *Finland* Folkmålskommissionen (Helsinki); in *Norway* Norsk Målførearkiv (Oslo).
- **4.4 Urban Speech.** On slang see Bergman (1964) for Sweden; and Bom's many studies, especially his dictionary (1957), for Denmark.
- 4.5 Prestige Speech. On Danish speech training see Arnholtz (1955). It is perhaps significant that the only language for which pronouncing dictionaries are easily available is DN: Alnæs (1925, 2. ed.), Berulfsen (1969), as well as a manual in English by Popperwell (1963).
- 4.6 Intra-Nordic Communication. For a study of this problem see Haugen (1966d). Samples of intra-Nordic dictionaries are Munch-Petersen and Hartmann (1945, 1948); Sandvei (1936); Christiansen and Nielsen (1955). Advice to Swedes on making themselves understood abroad is found in Bergman (1946).

## Chapter 5

## Resource Languages

5.1 The Problem. The Scandinavian languages, like most others, have developed under the influence of other, 'foreign' languages (FLs). Latin was under strong Greek influence and became, in turn, a model for all the languages of western Europe, a role it eventually ceded to French. We shall call such influential languages 'resource languages', because they constitute a resource for those who have learned them as second languages. Virtually every nation has, beside its mother tongue, some favorite 'other' tongue.

Foreign visitors to Scandinavia often remark on what seems to them an astonishing knowledge of other languages, especially English and German. In their gratitude for this accomplishment the visitors tend to exaggerate, since in fact there is a majority of monolinguals there as elsewhere. No investigations have been made to determine an index of foreign language competence for Scandinavia, but in the following we shall present some suggestions based on available data for book publication and foreign language teaching.

The importance of this material for a study of Scandinavian is primarily as the potential source of either enrichment or impoverishment that foreign languages can be for their learners. The *enrichment* is perhaps obvious: foreign languages offer people of small nations important opportunities for contact with the larger and more influential cultures of the world. The necessity of foreign language learning is pressing; in our time travel, trade, education, broadcasting, reading are all international in scope, and no nation can fail to develop a corps of bilinguals who will function as transmitters. The risk of *impoverishment* from foreign language learning is obviously more apparent to the people of small nations than to those of large ones. The dangers are virtually inseparable from the advantages: a language and thereby a nation can lose its independence and identity by the overwhelming influence of a foreign language. It is widely feared, in Scandinavia as

elsewhere, that native speakers and writers may neglect (and even abandon) their own language in favor of some foreign language if the latter grows too influential. Many profess to see signs of this in the extensive adoption of English words and phrases in contemporary writing, as well as the overwhelming flood of translations, especially from English.

5.2 Dominant and Dominated. It is well known that the influence exerted by one language on another is in some degree correlated with the social and political relationships of their speakers. The connection is neither simple nor fully understood, but it has been observed in many times and places that dominance by one people over another stimulates dominated people to learn the language of the dominant one. There is a greater pressure on the dominated than on the dominant to become bilingual. If the dominance endures for any length of time, the bilinguals are fairly certain to do one or both of the following: (a) adapt their own language to resemble the dominant one, primarily by borrowing words and phrases from the latter; (b) adopt the dominant language as their only language, while gradually forgetting their own. It is important to note that (b) does not necessarily follow from (a); there are numerous contrary instances. But it is conspicuous that when (a) does occur, it is nearly always a oneway street: borrowings move primarily from the dominant to the dominated.

As the later chapters of this book will show, there have been many instances of such influence in the history of Scandinavian, even among the languages native to the region. In the late Middle Ages Danish threatened to overwhelm all the others by its dominance; Swedish escaped with only a few scratches, while written Norwegian was eliminated entirely; Faroese and Icelandic are clearly marked by Danish influence in spite of strong resistance. The non-Scandinavian languages listed in 1.5 have all had periods of domination by the Scandinavian ones, and all show the effects in the form of extensive influence.

The Scandinavian languages have themselves been radically changed by similar influence from languages outside Norden. The first clearly non-Scandinavian language (if we set aside the early Celtic) to impinge on them was Latin, first through Roman traders, later through the Christian church. The dominance of this language

was more ecclesiastical than political, but it continued over a very long period, right down to the present. The Old English (OE) of the missionaries had some slight influence, but more important was the constant pressure of Low German from 1100 to the time of the Reformation. At certain periods the Hanseatic League dealt with the kings of Scandinavia as inferiors and wrested great concessions from them. Powerful trading posts were established, e.g. at Visby and Bergen, and large sectors of the public life of these countries were under their domination. For a long period the kings of Denmark were drawn from German principalities, and the language of the court was Low German. With the Reformation much of this pressure was relaxed, giving way to High German (HG) dominance in the intellectual and religious field, which continued well into the nineteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it became fashionable to learn French; the influence was due to diplomatic and military domination of the European continent by the kingdom of France. Not until the nineteenth century did the stars of England and America rise to the point where their language began to be sought after and acquired. With that began the period we are now experiencing, when English has emerged as the favorite foreign language in Scandinavia.

Even the most powerful dominance ever exerted over Scandinavia by a foreign language, that of Middle Low German (MLG), failed to sweep the languages away, though there were times when it seemed as if this very thing might happen. But it did leave tremendous influences behind. It is hard to say to what extent the great simplification of the inflectional system is due to Low German influence. But it is conspicuous that English and Scandinavian both changed in this direction while they were dominated by other languages; and Low German has a structure very much like that which the continental Scandinavian languages adopted, contrary for example to High German or Icelandic. There can be no doubt, however, about the lexical influence of Low German, since this is of a depth and pervasiveness comparable to that of Norman French on English. Only Icelandic succeeded in at least partially isolating itself from this influence.

Today English stands in a position which reminds some people of the dominance of Low German in the Middle Ages. As our discussion will show, it is being learned by great numbers of Scandinavians, and it is having the predictable kind of influence on contemporary writing and speech that the acquisition of a second language always has. At the

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same time there is much greater resistance to such infiltration than there was in the Middle Ages. There is a school system teaching the mother tongue and its traditions, as we have seen; and in all fields there is a vigorous literature which serves the most immediate needs of the population. There is pride and loyalty of language, which means a deliberate will to resist domination in the intellectual and cultural as well as the political field.

### 5.3 Foreign Language Teaching: From School to University.

The chief learning pressures on Scandinavia have come from her two Germanic-speaking neighbors, Germany and Britain. Until well into the twentieth century, German held the upper hand; its popularity was shattered by the events of two world wars and the alienation of Scandinavia from the aggressive policies of the Second and Third Reichs. Today Denmark is the only Scandinavian country where a pupil may choose between German and English as his first foreign language; he begins one of them in the sixth year and may begin the other in the seventh. In Norway English is compulsory from the sixth year wherever such instruction is available; it is being extended into all schools as rapidly as possible. In Sweden beginning English was moved down after World War II into the fifth year, replacing German, and was given four hours of the pupils' weekly thirty-five; three years of study are obligatory. In the new school system now being introduced in Sweden English will be begun in the fourth year (age ten).

Similar developments are occurring in Finland and Iceland, where English is even threatening the positions of Swedish and Danish as traditional second languages. In all Nordic countries German is of course taught, especially in the secondary schools; French is introduced as the last of the three major languages (e.g. in Sweden, English begins in the fifth, German in the seventh, and French in the ninth year). As a rule, only one language is introduced to primary-school pupils, or required of all secondary-school pupils; but all three are required for those who plan to go on to a university. The effect of this teaching is that in another generation at least a smattering of English should have filtered down to the entire population. The higher schools, including teacher training colleges and the universities proper, naturally supplement this teaching by maintaining faculties in English (and often in American as well). There is a large corps of specialists in English, who annually turn out a considerable

body of textbooks and scholarly monographs, normally written and printed in English.

**5.4 Informal Learning.** The major justification for the inclusion of foreign languages in a curriculum is their usefulness in the lives of the people. Scandinavians have abundant opportunities to exercise their foreign language competences. The proximity of the British Isles and Germany invite frequent travel in both directions-by sea, land and air. Scandinavia draws tourists by its scenic and vacationland possibilities, while Scandinavians are drawn abroad by the climatic and cultural attractions of more southerly climes. English and German broadcasting can be and commonly is listened to in Scandinavia, while some TV programs are even imported from abroad. European editions of foreign magazines, even American ones like Time and Reader's Digest, are available at newsstands, along with all the major newspapers of the world. The larger bookstores have special foreign sections, where one can often buy recent American and English books more readily than in their homelands. Business firms do much of their correspondence in non-Scandinavian languages, primarily English. International enterprises like the Scandinavian Airlines System have to use English a large part of the time.

One of the significant trends of the times is the considerable amount of original Scandinavian writing and publication being done in English. For Sweden figures are available showing that about fifteen percent of the original books published between 1958 and 1965 were in English; the corresponding figures for German were between two and three percent.

Table 7. Original Works Published in Sweden, by Language, in Selected Years

Year	1958	1961	1964	1967	1970
Swedish	3,238	3,310	4,176	4,535	4,934
English	590	678	868	977	975
German	92	93	63	75	45
French	27	26	18	22	18
Other languages	25	52	75	92	68
Total	3,972	4,159	5,200	5,701	6,040

Source: Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige 1971

Virtually all of the non-Swedish originals are non-fiction (970 of 975 English in 1970). An available statistic for Norway in the postwar years 1946 to 1955 shows a much lower percentage (8.3%) of foreign language books than in Sweden; a breakdown into subject-matter reveals that 1,832 of the total 2,262 were in the fields of mathematics, medicine, natural science and technology. Scientists in these fields are particularly international in their orientation, and it is a matter of course that if they are to reach their colleagues in other countries, they will have to do so in an internationally-known language. In many cases the monographs are written in the native language and then translated by professional translators (the results are not always happy).

For those who still prefer or are compelled to get their foreign fare in the native tongue there is a huge industry in translations. The following table shows for selected recent years the proportion of translations in each country:

Table 8. Percentage of Translations in Selected Years

Country	Denmark	Sweden	Norway	Iceland
Year	1965	1965	1963	1966
Total titles	3,784	5,693	3,135	280
Translations	1,016	1,452	740	107
Percentage of translations	26.8	25.5	23.6	38.o

Sources: Statistical Yearbooks. Note that the Danish figures do not include pamphlets, i.e. books of less than 49 pages. The Icelandic figures were calculated by Peter Jorgensen from Bókaskrá Bóksalafélags Íslands 1966.

The Swedish and Norwegian totals include pamphlets, which are rarely translated (only 5.6 % in Norway); without these the proportion of translated books in Norway rises from 23.6 % to 30 %. The Danish statistics give separate figures for schoolbooks; if these are not included, the percentage is 33.2. The Swedish statistics are broken down by subject matter: fiction 56.0, juveniles 48.7, non-fiction 11.4. Norwegian statistics show fiction (apparently including juveniles) as 62.4 % translated, non-fiction 11.4 %. Swedish statistics also give the language of the originals: English leads all the rest with 974 titles or two-thirds of all translations (German 109, French 83, Danish 94, Norwegian 35, all other languages 157). In Iceland 56 of the 107 translations are from English, many of the rest from the other Sc languages.

Together these figures suggest that at least half the entertainment of Scandinavians (usually in the form of bestsellers) comes to them from abroad, mostly in translation out of English.

5.5 Prospects for the Future. As suggested above, widespread bilingualism has always led to the diffusion of features from one language to another, particularly when there is a relation of dominance between them. The dominance in this case is not so much political as it is cultural and economic; the possibilities of mass production make it difficult for the writers and publishers of small countries to compete. Native writers complain that their market is being restricted by bestselling translations; the temptation on their part to follow similar formulae is often irresistible. One of the results of foreign language learning is to bring forth translators; our age is spawning them more rapidly than original writers, and a number of authors have found it necessary to combine both activities. The Translators' Society of each country tends to grow at the expense of the Authors' Society.

Translation is one of the channels through which new words and constructions are introduced into a language. This has been true ever since the first translations of the Bible, and it is true today. With the stabilization of norms in each language new innovations are resisted, and the guardians of linguistic purity cry out against them. On their introduction such words as Norwegian gjeng, Swedish gäng (from English gang) or constructions like Det er opp til ham (from English It is up to him) were decried as barbarisms. After repeated use many of them have won citizenship in the language, while others remain extraneous. As in France and other European countries there has been much popular discussion of this phenomenon, usually without adequate perspective, either historical or geographical, on the problems involved.

One extreme position has been to decry the 'English sickness' (Swedish engelska sjukan = 'rickets') as a barbarization of the Nordic languages. Another extreme is to accept freely and without effort at adaptation whatever English words strike one's fancy as either amusing or impressive or difficult to replace with native words. The latter appears to be the case in the speech of many young people, as reflected in literary works and newspaper columns depicting the life of youth. Journalists, to whom a large part of the daily news comes in the form

of foreign dispatches, are peculiarly exposed to the commission of 'barbarisms' in the heat of their labors. Others who appear to find it difficult to remain within the traditional framework of their language are those workers whose professional models have written in English: psychologists, sociologists, public relations men, industrial magnates, etc. The very word public relations defies translation, it appears, although the abbreviation PR fits in rather nicely. A word like design carries a cachet that seems to make it inevitable everywhere these days. Any collection of English loanwords in these languages reflects the domains of life in which Anglo-Saxon enterprise has been dominant: sports, business, industry, salesmanship, social science, men's fashions, and the like.

A more informed and rational approach than outright condemnation might be to accept the linguistic dominance of English as a fact of our times and to consider what if anything can be done to make it benefit rather than harm the recipient languages. Scholars like Alf Hellevik (Norwegian) and Erik Wellander (Swedish), among others, have considered the problem from this point of view. They have noted the special problems of English orthography, thanks to the discrepancy between spelling and sound in the language (e.g. shall the a of baby and bag or the y of nylon be given their English or their Scandinavian values; or should one respell them, e.g. Swedish bejbi, bägg, najlon?). A number of studies have been made of the use of loanwords; these show that while the borrowed words are usually quite conspicuous, they are not actually very numerous. There can be no comparison with the huge influx of German words in earlier centuries. A rather more subtle influence is the tendency induced by English to a more latinized style; words like aktivisere activate, rehabilitere rehabilitate, attraktiv attractive, subtilitet subtlety gain increasing frequency through rendering corresponding English words and sometimes even acquire new meanings derived from English.

Icelandic, which has been even more directly exposed to English influence, thanks to British and American occupation, has its own solution: English loans are frequent in speech, but are rigorously excluded in writing. Danish is the most hospitable to new words and tends to keep them in solution by not changing their spelling. Swedish (like New-Norwegian) works at finding equivalents, but frequently fails. Typical are the words mentioned earlier (2.6): teenager and weekend. Swedish has tonåring and veckoslut (informally veckände),

Norwegian tenåring and weekend [vi'k-end], Danish teenager and weekend. The successful launching of popular replacements for foreign fashion words is not a gift granted to everyone; the committees for language cultivation (above 3.2) are doing their bit. One of the successful replacements is the word plast, for the substances known in English as 'plastics'; the problem was that the languages already had plastik (from French plastique) as a word for the plastic arts. The word was launched in Sweden and has caught on in all the others, including Icelandic, just as did the earlier Danish invention of bil for automobile.

### References

- 5.1-5.2 The Problem; Dominant and Dominated. References for this section will be found below (10.6, 11.5).
- 5.3 FL Teaching: From School to University. See Arvidson, Stenholm and Blomberg (1959), Berge (1960), Nelleman (1964), Orring (1962), Ruge (1962), C. E. Sjöstedt *et al.* (1962). On recent pedagogical discussion in Sweden see Edwardsson (1970), Malmberg (1971).
- 5.4 Informal Learning. The Nw statistics are taken from Haukaas (1957). 5.5 Prospects for the Future. For a strongly puristic view see Collinder (1954); Wellander (1954) and Hellevik (1963) are more moderate. The major study before World War II of Eng loanwords was Stene (1945).

## Chapter 6

# Linguistic Forms: A Contrastive Sketch

**6.1 Introduction.** This chapter will provide a quick survey of the chief linguistic traits that unite and separate the modern Sc languages. Each of these will be treated later in more detail. They will here be listed under the headings orthography (6.2), phonology (6.3), morphology (6.4), syntax (6.5) and lexicon (6.6).

**6.2 Orthography.** The five regular vowel symbols of the Latin alphabet (a e i o u) have been increased by four to provide for the umlaut vowels:

$$y (= \text{Ger } \ddot{u})$$
 |  $x$  Da DN NN Ic Fa;  $\ddot{a}$  Sw  $\sigma$  Da DN NN Fa;  $\ddot{\sigma}$  Sw Ic |  $d$  Da Sw DN NN

In Fa and Ic accents are used to mark vowels that in ON were long (but now are generally diphthongal):  $\acute{a}$   $\acute{a}$   $\acute{a}$   $\acute{a}$   $\acute{a}$   $\acute{b}$   $\acute{a}$ , Ic also  $\acute{e}$ . In the modern languages vowel length is usually unmarked, but may often be inferred from the writing of geminated consonants after short vowels, e.g. Da Nw Sw ryggen, Fa ryggurin, Ic hryggurinn the back. This applies generally after short vowels in stressed syllables, where the consonants are phonetically long (except in Da). Da does not geminate final consonants (ryg back).

The consonant symbols are those of the Latin alphabet, with the addition in ON of p (called 'thorn') and  $\delta$  (called 'edh'). Only Ic preserves both of these; Fa uses  $\delta$  (with a different value). The letters  $c \ q \ w \ x \ z$  are usually limited to words and names of foreign origin. In words of non-Sc origin they are often replaced by other letters, according to sound: c > k ('hard'), s ('soft'); qu > kv; w > v; x > ks (not Sw Ic); z > s (now also Ic).

6.3 Phonology. The major differences are listed in Table 9 with

examples. (1) Stress: on first syllable in native words, later syllables in borrowed words, except in Ic, which maintains the old Gmc rule. (2) Accent: pitch accent (tone) on OSc polysyllables, not in Ic Fa Fi-Sw or most Da; in standard Da OSc monosyllables are glottalized. (3) Quantity: inverse correlation of vowel and consonant length in stressed syllables, except in Da. (4) Originally short vowels: nine in number, reduced to six in Ic by coalescence of e/e,  $\theta/Q$ , i/y (written e,  $\ddot{o}$ , i/y), to seven in Fa (e/e, i/y), increased to ten in Da by addition of a low ø (sometimes written ö). (5) Originally long vowels: coalescence and diphthongization in Ic and Fa, quality shift in Nw and Sw. (6) Diphthongs: monophthongized in Sw Da DN (partly), maintained elsewhere. (7) Unstressed vowels: three qualities (i a u) maintained in native words in Ic, partial reduction to two in Fa NN Sw, to one (shwa) in Da DN. (8) Postvocalic stops: maintained as p t k except in Da, where they are laxed to b dg (the two latter as spirants  $[\eth g]$ ). (9) Palatalization of initial velars: development of i-glides in Ic, palatal affricates in Fa (and some NN Sw), and palatal spirants in DN NN Sw, return to pure stops in Da. (10) Quality of r: Da (under influence of Ger) developed uvular [R] which spread into adjacent parts of Sw and Nw; standard CSw and ENw maintain lingual [r], except before dentals where retroflex [t d n s l] have developed. Fa [ř] is a lingual fricative. (11) Spirants: no [z] in any Sc language; the interdentals [p ð] maintained only in Ic, elsewhere [t d], except for pronouns which were voiced initially, giving [d] (Fa in part [h]) for  $[b > \tilde{0}]$ .

#### 6.4 Morphology. The major differences are listed in Table 10.

Nouns. (1) Gender classes are maintained, but m. and f. have been merged in Da and Sw into a non-neuter or common (c.) gender; DN has both systems. (2) Cases are merged except in Ic, which still has nom. gen. dat. acc. forms for most nouns and pronouns; Fa also maintains many of these forms, but has generally replaced the gen. with prepositional expressions, as has NN. Elsewhere the -s of the m. and n. strong gen. has been generalized and is the only case ending (as in Eng). (3) Plurals have retained their old stem vowel distinctions in Ic and Fa (aside from the Fa n. pl.) and partially in NN and Sw: m. and f. typically end in -Vr, n. in zero. In DN this has been reduced to m.f. -er and n. zero (with some exceptions), in Da to two broad classes ending in -er and -e in either gender. All retain reminiscences

Table 9. Contrastive Phonological Features in Modern Scandinavian (Standard)

Feature	Icelandic	Faroese	New- Norwegian	Dano- Norwegian	Danish	Swedish	Glosses
(1) Stress ['] (on loanwords)	bar'bari	barbá'rur	barba'r	barba'r	barba'r	barba'r	barbarian
(2) Accent ['] (Glottal catch ['])	ul'lin ul'linn	ul'lin ul'lintur	ul'la ul`len	ul'len ul'len	ul'den ul'den	ul'len yl'len	the wool woolly
(3) Geminate consonants	þak'ka	tak'ka	tak'ka	tak'ke	takke [tag'ə]	tack'a	thank
(4) Vowel system (short)	i u e ö o a	i u e ø o a	ì ỳ ù è ø ò æ a å	iyuo eøå æa	i y u e ø o æ ö å	iyuo eöå äa	
(5) Vowel system (long)	í ú é [je] ó æ [ai] á [au]	í [ui] ú [yu] ó [ou] æ [æa] á [åa]	i y u e ø o æ a å	iyuo eøå æa	i y u e ø o æ ö å	iyuo eöå äa	
(6) Diphthongs CSc au/ǫu ey/øy ei/æi	lauss [øy] leysa [ei] leita [ei]	leysur [ei] loysa [oi] leita [ai]	laus [øu] løysa [øy] leita [ei]	laus/løs løse [ø:] lete [e:]	løs [ø:] løse [ø:] lede [e:]	lös [ø:] lösa [ø:] leta [e:]	loose release search

(7) Unstressed -ar -ur/-or -ir/-er	vowels	3 hanar vísur [Y] tíðir [I]	2(3) hanar visur [1] tíðir [1]	2(3) hanar visor (viser) tider	1(2)   haner   viser   tider	haner viser tider	2(3) hanar visor (viser) tider	cocks songs times
(8) Postvocalic	stops -p -t -k	matur	gap matur søk	gap mat sak	gap mat sak	gab mad [ð] sag [g/w]	gap mat sak	gap food case
(9) Palatalizatio	n g- k- sk-	gefa [gj-] kyssa [kj-] skjóta [skj-]	geva [dj-] kyssa [tj-] skjóta [š-]	gjeva [j-] kyssa [ç-] skjota [š-]	gi [j-] kysse [ç-] skyte [š-]	give [g-] kysse [k-] skyde [sk-]	giva [j-] kyssa [ç-] skjuta [š-]	give kiss shoot
(10) Quality of r		[r]	[ř]	[r]/[ţ]	[r]/[ŗ]	[R]	[r]/[r]	
. , .	o- ·ð	þing það, þetta bað [ba:ð]	ting tað [tæa], hetta bað [bæa]	ting det, dette bad [ba:]	ting det, dette bad [ba:]	ting det, dette bad [bað]	ting det, detta bad [ba:d]	thing that, this asked

#### Table 10. Contrastive Morphological Features in Modern Scandinavian

(Only nominatives are listed in inflected languages, unless otherwise stated)

Trait	Icelandic	Faroese	New- Norwegian	Dano- Norwegian	Danish	Swedish
(1) Noun genders	m. f. n.	m. f. n.	m. f. n.	m. f. c. n.	c. n.	c. n.
(2) Noun cases	nom. gen. dat. acc.	nom. (gen.) dat. acc.	nom. (gen.)	nom. gen.	nom. gen.	nom. gen
(3) Noun plurals			1			
m. f. n.	-ar -ir -ir -ar -ur u	-ar -ir -ir -ar -ur ir -ur	-ar -er -er -ar (-or) o	}-er -e er	}-e -er e -er	-ar -er -or n
(4) Definite art. m. sg. f. sg. n. sg. m. pl. f. pl. n. pl.	hinn/-inn hin/-in hið/-ið hinir/-nir hinar/-nar hin/-in	tann/-in tann/-in tað/-ið teir/-nir tær/-nar tey/-ini	den/-en den/-a det/-et dei/-ne dei/-ne dei/-a	den/-en den/-a, -en det/-et de de de de/-a, -ne	den/-en det/-et de/-ne	den/-en det/-et }de/-na
(5) Indef. art. m. f. n.		ein ein eitt	ein ei eit	en en, ei et	en et	}en ett
(6) Adjectives ('strong')						
m. sg. f. sg.	-ur	-ur 	_	_	}-	}_
n. sg. m. pl. f. pl.	-t -ir -ar	-t -ir -ar	-t }-e	-t }-e	-t }-e	-t }-a
n. pl.	_		)	[]	1)	] ]

(7) Adjectives ('weak')	-i m. sg. -a f. n. sg. -u pl.	-i m. sg. -a f. n. sg. -u pl.	}-e	}-e	}-e	-e }-a
(8) 3. p. pers. pron. m. nom. acc./dat. f. nom. acc./dat.	hann hann/honum hún hana/henni	hann hann/honum hon hana/henni	han han (honum) ho ho (henne)	han ham (han) hun henne	han ham hun hende	han honom hon henne
(9) Polite pron. nom. acc./dat.	þér yður	tygum tygum	De Dykk	De Dem	De Dem	ni er
(10) Weak verbs, pret. (3. p. sg.) class 1 others	-aði -di/-ði/-ti	-aði -di/-ði/-ti	-a -dde/-de/-te	-et/-a -dde/-de/-te	-ede -te	-ade -dde/-de/-te
(11) Present tense (3. p. sg.) strong verbs weak verbs	=ur -ar/-ir/-ur	≃ur -ar/-ir/-ur	 -ar/-er/-r	_er -er/-r	-'er -er/-r	<u>-</u> er -ar/-er/-r
(12) Mediopassive	-st	-st	-st	-s	-s	<b>-</b> s

of umlaut plurals as structural irregularities (e.g. Da bog book-pl. bøger, barn child-pl. børn).

Articles. (4) The definite article (from the demonstrative pronouns): with adjectives it is preposed and autonomous, as in English and German, but with nouns it is suffixed; in the table the former precede the slant, the latter follow. (5) The indefinite article is missing in Ic, but elsewhere it is an unstressed form of the numeral 'one'. Both articles are inflected for the same genders and cases as the nouns; the indefinite usually has no plural.

Adjectives are inflected for gender and number, but the old case inflections remain only in Fa and Ic. In the table alternate forms are listed for adjectives in -Vn, e.g. Ic vakinn, Da vågen awake. Most adjectives have both 'strong' and 'weak' forms. (6) The 'strong' forms are syntactically indefinite and agree with their nouns as stated above. In continental Sc they have been reduced to two sg. and one pl. form. (7) The 'weak' forms are syntactically definite (after definite articles and other determiners) and show less agreement with their nouns. The endings are vocalic and in continental Sc are mostly reduced to one form. Adverbs corresponding to Eng -ly are formed by the n. sg. suffix of the adjective, usually -t, e.g. DN søt sweet, søtt sweetly. Comparatives of adverbs and adjectives are formed by suffixes in -r-and -st-, e.g. DN søtere sweeter, more sweetly, søtest sweetest, most sweetly.

Pronouns are of several different kinds, corresponding closely to Eng. (8) The personal pronouns have retained more case distinctions than the nouns (as in Eng). Two special Sc features are the 3. pers. pronouns in h- (cf Ger er, sie) and the reflexive possessive sin (like Latin suus rather than Ger sein). (9) In the 2. pers. pronoun there is a special form for polite address to strangers, distinct from the universal du thou, you (Ic pu, Fa tu).

Verbs are classified as 'strong' or 'weak' according to their inflectional patterns. 'Strong' are those that form their preterites by stem vowel alternation (as Eng sing-sang), 'weak' those that form them by a dental suffix (as Eng try-tried, face-faced). (10) The weak preterite and perf. part. suffixes vary according to the final stem consonants and deviate somewhat in the different languages. (11) The present suffixes vary in strong and weak verbs, but have been reduced in Da and DN to a single form. Ic and Fa suffixes mark the number and person of the subject; elsewhere these are not marked. In Ic Fa NN

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strong verbs have umlaut vowels in the stem of the pres., e.g. NN koma come, pres. kjem. (12) The mediopassive suffix is a specially Sc feature, alternating in function with reflexive verbs and passive constructions (bliva or verða plus perf. part.).

- 6.5 Syntax. Differences within Sc are mostly due to the reduction of morphological complexity in the mainland languages and the consequent need for more rigid word ordering. In Ic, for example, one can write (with somewhat varying stylistic effect) either prófessor Halldór Ólafsson, Halldór prófessor Ólafsson, or Halldór Ólafsson prófessor, while in NN DN Sw Da only the first order is acceptable. Most of the syntactic features listed below therefore apply only to the latter, while Ic or Fa generally follow rules to be listed later for CSc (9.4.4, cf 11.4).
- (1) Concord. In the languages that have only one form in each tense of the verb there is no problem of subject—verb concord; Sw distinguished plural verb forms until recently, but only in writing. The 'impersonal' verbs which in Fa and Ic can still occur in the 3. pers. sg. without expressed subjects must elsewhere have a pronoun in the subject slot (usually det it); these verbs refer to natural events, states of mind, etc.:

Ic Nú snjóar vs. DN Nå snør det Now it's snowing.

Fa Illa stendur til vs. Sw Det står illa till Things are in a bad way.

- (2) Government. Dative-accusative case relations exist only in (some) pronouns; elsewhere they are marked by prepositions or word order. The indirect object precedes the direct, e.g. DN Han gav hesten høy He gave the horse hay. DN Da use the object form after a copula, e.g. Da Det er mig, while NN Sw use the nominative, e.g. Deter/är eg/jag It is I (me). The genitive competes with corresponding compounds and prepositional phrases, with oral style (esp. in Fa NN DN) preferring the latter, e.g. DN hestehodet, hodet på hesten rather than hestens hode the horse's head.
- (3) Tense. The 'historical' present is more frequent than in Eng. An 'expressive' preterite is sometimes used to express a strong opinion about a present experience:
  - Sw Det var då det fräckaste! That's the most brazen (thing I've heard)!
  - DN Vinen smakte aldeles deilig The wine tastes absolutely delicious.

While there are no progressive tenses like the English forms in be plus -ing (actually a durative aspect), similar meanings are expressed by combining positional verbs (sit, stand, lie, walk) with a main verb, e.g. Fa Vit sótu og prátaðu We were (sitting and) talking. Ic alone has an idiom with be plus infinitive: Hann er að tala He is speaking.

- (4) Mode. Subjunctive is limited almost entirely to wishes and curses: Da DN Kongen leve! (Long) live the king!; Da DN Fanden gale! Devil take (me)! In Sw there is still some literary use of the preterite subjunctive in conditional clauses (chiefly the form vore from vara be): Sw Det vore bättre vs. Da DN Det var bedre That would be better (but also with a modal: Da DN Det ville være bedre, Sw Det skulle vara bättre).
- (5) Voice. The mediopassive in -s(t) is limited in range, having chiefly durative, reciprocal, or deponent meanings and infinitive or present forms, esp. in NN DN Da. In the passive meaning it competes with a compound passive formed with the auxiliary 'become' (Ic Fa verða NN verta Fa Sw bliva DN NN bli Da blive) and the perf. part., e.g. DN Døra blir slått opp (preferred Sw form: Dörren slås upp) The door is opened.
- (6) Auxiliaries. 'Perfect' tenses are formed with the auxiliaries 'have' and 'be' plus the perf. part. The traditional use of 'be' with verbs of motion etc. is rare in Sw and decreasing in Nw, e.g. Sw Nw Han har gått vs. Da Han er gået, Ic Hann er genginn He has gone.

The perfect corresponds in meaning rather closely to Eng (not Ger), except in its 'inferential' use about a probable event in the past:

- DN Han har vært syk da han sa det He must have been ill when he said that.
- Da Det er længe siden, han har været så glad It's a long time since he was so happy.

Modal auxiliaries differ in complex ways from language to language, making translation difficult; for example, in a future sense Sw prefers skall shall, Da DN vil will, Ic mun. The development of få get as a modal has resulted in markedly different usages.

(7) The infinitive. The use of the marker (Ic að Fa Da at NN DN å Sw att) is lexically determined and may differ, so that, e.g. DN Ønsker De å tale med meg? may correspond to Sw Önskar ni tala med

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mig? (without the marker) Do you wish to speak with me? The marker is often phonetically identical with the conjunction 'and' [å], which leads to uncertainty about some constructions, e.g. Sw Han var ute och köpte kött vs. Da Han var ude at købe kød He was out buying meat.

(8) Participles. NN has more tendency than the others to use the pres. part. in a passive (potential) sense:

NN Det er ikkje ventande vs. Sw Det är inte att vänta It is not to be expected.

Da and DN do not distinguish in traditional fashion between inflected and uninflected perf. part. (the 'supine'):

Da DN Tyven er ikke fundet (funnet) vs. Sw Tjuven är inte funnen The thief has not been found.

(Cf Sw De har inte funnit tjuven They have not found the thief.)

(9) Adverbs and prepositions. The chief negating adverb is Ic ekki Fa ikki NN ikkje Da DN ikke Sw inte (icke old-fashioned). Even more closely associated with the verb is a group of 'modal' adverbs which are pronounced unstressed and have their regular meanings reduced to little more than markers of speaker's attitude, e.g. Da DN da (Sw då), jo (Sw ju), nok (Sw nog), nu (DN nå NN no), vel (Sw väl). In DN da and vel may also be placed at the end of a clause, e.g. DN Hvor er du ifra da? vs. Sw Var är du ifrån? Where are you from?

Prepositions are 'transitive' adverbs. Together with verbs they may form compounds, either as prefixes or as autonomous words (cf the 'separable prefixes' of Ger). When separated, the verb and preposition usually have a basic and literal meaning, but united they may have an abstract or transferred meaning:

Fa biðja til guðarnar pray to the gods vs. tilbiðja guðarnar worship the gods

Da sætte over elven cross the river vs. oversætte bogen translate the book

DN tale ut speak out vs. uttale pronounce

In DN NN Fa Ic the united compound is generally limited to the (adjectival) perf. part. unless it has a special meaning, e.g. Fa rógva út row out vs. útrógvin (having) rowed out; NN taka i mot receive vs. imotteken received.

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Prepositions not only govern nouns and pronouns, but also clauses and infinitives (corresponding to the English gerund in -ing):

Da DN ved at han kom hjem, ved at (å) komme hjem by (his) coming home.

- (10) Adjectives. The 'strong' forms are used in predicate position (contrary to Ger) and attributively before indefinite nouns, the 'weak' forms after determiners and before definite nouns. Weak form is also used in address: Ic kæri vinur, Sw käre vän dear friend. In set phrases adjectives may be nominalized, pl. forms referring to people, n. sg. to concepts, e.g. DN sorte og hvite blacks and whites, sort på hvitt black on white.
- (11) Pronouns. Of the personal pronouns the 3. pers. sg. is characteristically Sc: han(n) he, hon/hun she, den/det it. The differences in the polite pronouns are due to differential borrowing from Ger, an older practice of using the 2. pers. pl. (Ic Fa NN Sw), a newer one of the 3. pers. pl. (Da DN). In Sw ni is considered condescending and is replaced by titles or circumlocutions. Sw is unique in having accepted the dialect form dom in standard speech (but not in writing) for de they (OSc beim, bom dat. pl.). The reflexive possessive sin is characteristically Sc and differs from Ger sein in referring back only to the subject of its clause; in Da it is only singular in reference. The 3. pers. sg. det not only fills the subject position in impersonal sentences (1 above), but also functions as a stand-in in 'cleft' sentences: Sw Det er skönt att bada It's lovely to go swimming, DN Det var min bror som kom It was my brother who came. In Sw Nw it is also used for Eng 'there' (Da der): Sw Det sitter fem fåglar på taket There are five birds sitting on the roof. Anaphoric pronouns agree with their referent in gender (and number) in Ic Fa NN, but in the two-gender systems of Da Sw DN sexually unmarked nouns are referred to by den if they are c. g., det if they are n., e.g. Ic sólin—hún, NN sola—ho, DN sola/solen—den, Sw Da solen—den the sun—it.

There are no commonly used relative pronouns, their functions being performed by the particle som (Ic sem Fa sum), in Da also by der.

(12) Determiners. Each Sc language has two definite articles, one adjectival (preposed) and one nominal (suffixed). In Da these are mutually exclusive, elsewhere they may and (in Fa NN DN Sw) in many contexts must be combined:

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Da det gode korn vs. Fa tað góða kornið, NN det gode kornet, Sw det goda kornet the good grain.

In such 'double definite' constructions the preposed article is sometimes deleted, being strictly redundant, e.g. DN første natten the first night, Sw stora torget the big market place, Ic rauði hesturinn the red horse. Double definite is not used with such determiners as genitives or possessives, although these require weak adjectives, unless the possessive follows the noun, as it can in Ic Fa DN NN, e.g. Ic hesturinn minn, DN NN hesten min vs. Fa hestur min, Da min hest, Sw min häst; but not elsewhere: DN Olavs/min nye hest Olav's/my new horse. A general Sc usage is the possessive pronoun with terms of abuse: Ic bjáninn þinn Fa tín býttlingur NN DN Sw Da din idiot you idiot.

Ic alone has failed to develop an indefinite article, using the indefinite pronouns *einn* one and *nokkur* a certain when necessary.

- (13) Conjunctions. Some coordinating conjunctions, joining equal elements, are: og (Sw och) and; men (Ic en) but (Sw also utan); Ic eða Fa ella NN DN Sw Da eller or; Ic því at Fa tí Da ti, for Sw ty, för NN DN for for. Some subordinating conjunctions, introducing subordinate clauses, are: at (Sw att) that; Ic meðan Fa meðan ið NN med(an) DN mens Da medens Sw medan while; Ic sem Fa sum NN DN Sw Da som as, who; Ic þá Fa tá ið NN DN Da da Sw då when; Ic ef Fa um NN DN Sw Da om Da DN hvis if; så (at) (Ic svo) so (that); Ic Fa nær DN NN Da når Sw när when.
- (14) Ellipsis. The auxiliary hava is regularly deleted: (a) in written Sw in subordinate clauses, e.g. Tänk om hon (hade) blivit blind! vs. Da Tænk, om hun var bleven blind!/DN Tenk om hun hadde blitt blind! What if she had become blind! (b) in DN after auxiliary modals: Du skulle (ha) sett ham You should have seen him.
- (15) Word order. The most significant ordering is that of the finite (i.e. inflected) verb ( $V_f$ ) in relation to the subject (S) and the beginning of the sentence (after conjunctions, if any). The  $V_f$  may be in initial, second, or third position, normally not (as in Ger) in final position. (a) Initial position in a main clause signals a yes—no question, in a dependent clause an if-clause (conditional). Only in Ic Fa may an initial  $V_f$  be declarative, e.g. in narrative or after og and: Ic Gekk maðurinn út Did the man go out?/The man went out. (b) Second position signals a statement or a 'wh-question'; in a main clause the

initial position may be occupied by the subject or any stressed member of the predicate (object, predicate noun, adverb, etc.), as in Ger, but in a dependent clause only by the subject. (c) Third position signals a dependent clause with certain adverbs (negation, time, manner, etc.) inserted between S and  $V_f$ . This rule does not apply to Ic. Final positioning (e.g. after perf. part.) is more common in Ic than elsewhere. Some examples:

- (a) DN Har mormor lest boken? Has grandmother read the book?
  - Har mormor lest boken, da— If grandmother has read the book, then—
- (b) Mormor leste boken i går Grandmother read the book yesterday.
  - I går leste mormor boken Yesterday grandmother read the book.
  - Hva leste mormor i går? What did grandmother read yesterday?
  - Jeg vet at mormor leste boken i går I know that grandmother read the book yesterday.
- (c) De sa at mormor ikke hadde lest boken They said that grand-mother had not read the book.
  - Ic Peir sögðu að amma hefði ekki lesið bókina They said that grandmother had not read the book.
  - Ic Peir vissu hver genginn væri/hver væri genginn They knew who had left.
- 6.6 Lexicon. The vocabulary of the Sc languages may be studied in such great, multivolumed dictionaries as the Da Ordbog over det danske Sprog (27 vols., 1918–52), the still incomplete Sw Svenska Akademiens Ordbok (25 vols., 1898–), the DN Norsk Riksmålsordbok (2 vols., 1931–57) and the NN Norsk Ordbok (vol. 1, 1966–). Corresponding service is performed for Icelandic by the Islandsk-dansk Ordbog of Sigfús Blöndal (1920–4, supplement 1963) and for Faroese by the Føroysk-donsk orðabók of Jacobsen and Matras (1928, rev.

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1961). These and their numerous derivatives display anywhere up to 200,000 entries for each language. It is impossible to compare the size of the vocabularies in these languages, since the dictionaries are made on different principles and for different purposes. Such comparisons are meaningless in any case, since all languages have devices for making new words at any time; if need arises (as when translating), one can always adopt a foreign word.

The favorite devices for creating new words are *compounding* and *derivation*. To the extent that these can be freely performed by any speaker, it becomes impossible to list all of the results.

Compounds consist of parts that also occur as independent words, e.g. Ic barna-skór children's shoes, manns-hæð man's height, sól-skin sunshine (here written with hyphens only to show point of division). The first member bears the primary stress; it may end in a (once) genitive suffix (-a, -s); and it acts as a modifier of the second member. The second member bears secondary stress, takes the endings that apply to the compound as a whole, and acts as the center of the construction. There is no difference in principle among the languages in their use of these forms, except for the extensive employment in Ic of certain affectionately abusive compounds like mann-skratti rascal of a man (lit. man-rascal), hunds-garmur cur of a dog (lit. dog's-cur), but cf DN gutte-slamp rascal of a boy (lit. boy-rascal).

Derivatives are compounds in which either the first or the second member could not function as an independent word; in this case the first member is called a prefix, the second member a suffix. A common Sc prefix is u- (o-) 'un-', e.g. Ic ó-heppinn unlucky, Da u-vejr storm (lit. un-weather). A common suffix is -dom (Fa Ic -dómur), e.g. kristen-dom Christianity, mann-dom manhood, Ic hór-dómur whoring. In these examples the prefixes and suffixes have retained the usual stress pattern of compounds; but as a rule they lose stress and become simply unstressed syllables, e.g. Da Nw be-tale pay, er-fare experience, reis-ende traveler. The languages differ in their use of such affixes, e.g. res-ande in Sw means traveling, and the word for traveler is res-enär (from LG). In mainland Sc many of the affixes are of German origin and are therefore resisted in NN, Fa and Ic, e.g. -het (Da -hed) from LG -heit, as in DN kjærlig-het love (Da kærlig-hed/Sw kär-lek/NN kjær-leik/Fa kær-leiki/Ic kær-leikur); be- from LG be-, as in Da DN be-folke/Sw be-folka populate, vs. NN Fa Ic byggja.

The partial identity between the languages reflected in these

examples of compounding and derivation is found also in the lexicon as a whole. Each language has made its own selection from the chief sources available, the IE-Gmc-Sc heritage, the loanwords taken from the resource languages and the spontaneous innovations of its users. One can study the origins of the words, so far as they are known, in the etymological dictionaries, e.g. for DN Falk and Torp (1910–11), for NN Torp (1919), for Da N. Å. Nielsen (1966), for Sw Hellquist (1922), for ON de Vries (1961). A breakdown of the Swedish vocabulary by periods of origin is found in Hellquist (1929–32). That the history of the languages and the experiences of the peoples have resulted in intra-Scandinavian differences is reflected in the need of translations and even of intra-Scandinavian dictionaries and tourist guides (Bergman 1946, Munch-Petersen and Hartmann 1948).

The basic stock of everyday words for nature and man's dealings with it is mostly inherited. Skautrup (1.75) has estimated that CSc preserved some 2,000 uncompounded words from PGmc. Alexander Jóhannesson claimed (1956) in his etymological dictionary of Ic that fifty-seven percent or 1,250 of the known 2,200 IE roots are preserved in modern Ic. It seems clear that Ic has here been more retentive than the other Sc languages, but no comparative count has been made. As our survey of the languages above showed, the standard languages on the mainland have replaced many native terms with borrowings. Even here there are differences: Da Nw have retained ON vindauga window as vindu, while Sw has replaced it with fönster from Ger Fenster (ultimately Lat fenestra). But for the most part the borrowings have entered all the mainland languages and thereby contributed to their common development, e.g. late ON skraddari tailor from MLG (or Frisian), now Da skrædder, DN skredder, NN skreddar, Sw skräddare; the word is also known in Ic (skraddari) and Fa (skræddari), but is being replaced (at least in Ic) by the native compound klæðskeri lit. 'cloth cutter'. An international word like 'psychology' is universal in the mainland Sc languages (e.g. Da psykologi), but in Ic and Fa it is replaced (in written usage) by the literal translation Ic sálfræði, Fa sálfrøði ('soul-science').

The lexical differences of the present day are thus the result of innumerable changes in individual words, which have resulted in two major types of disagreement: (a) words occur in one language that are not known in another; (b) words occur that are recognizably similar but have different meanings.

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An example of (a) is the word for 'sheep', with respect to which modern Sc dialects (as studied by Zetterholm 1940; cf Skautrup 1.76) divide neatly into a western area using CSc sauðr and an eastern using får.

Western: sauðr

Ic sauður Fa seyður NN DN sau WSw sö

Eastern: fár ESw får DN Da får

Fár is clearly IE, being cognate with Gk pókos sheepskin. The fact that it occurred in ON as fær and is probably the root of Fær-eyjar 'the Faroe Islands' suggests that it has been displaced in Western Sc by sauðr. But this word, too, is IE or at least Gmc, since it comes from ON sjóða 'boil' (Eng seethe) and occurs in Go as sauds sacrifice. It may originally have referred to the sheep's flesh as prepared for sacrifice (cf Eng mutton) and only later applied to the sheep itself.

Striking examples of lexical diversity are the words for 'boy' and 'girl', which seem to suffer from instability (due to affectionate nursery usage) in many languages, especially when compared with the stability of words for 'man' and 'woman':

	Icelandic	Faroese	New- Norwegian	Dano- Norwegian	Danish	Swedish
boy	strákur piltur	sveinur drongur	gut	gutt	dreng	pojke gosse
girl	stúlka	genta	jente	pike jente	pige	flicka jänta
man woman	maður kvinna kona	maður kvinna kona	mann kvinne	mann kvinne	mand kvinde	man kvinna

Words which are standard in one language may occur in the other languages as regional or dialectal variants, e.g. the Nw fjøs cow barn (\*fēhūs) is known in Sw dialects as fjös and fähus, but is called ladugård in standard Sw; the Da word kostald is also known in some Sw dialects. The DN adverb bare 'only' is known in all languages (Da bare, NN berre, Ic Fa Sw bara), but is being replaced in Da by kun, in Sw by endast, in Ic by aðeins, and in Fa by bert.

Such partial overlapping is also characteristic of the instances of (b), where a displacement of meaning has occurred. There are certain

standard anecdotal examples, e.g. rar, which has developed from its basic meaning of 'rare' in a favorable sense to 'nice, good' in Da Sw, but in an unfavorable sense to 'odd, peculiar' in Nw; or rolig, which has preserved its original meaning of 'restful, quiet' in all the Sc languages except Sw, where it has come to mean 'amusing' (but of moro fun in Da Nw from \*mōð-rō mind-rest). A less trite instance is CSc blautr, which could mean either 'wet' or 'soft', and still does in Ic Fa NN; but in Da (and strict DN) now means only 'soft' ('wet' is våd| DN våt), while in Sw it means only 'wet' ('soft' is mjuk). A Dane speaking of en blød stol would mean 'a soft chair', but could be understood by a Swede to mean 'a wet chair'.

So each language has developed its own stock of words and meanings, with special nuances related to its culture. It is not surprising that Nw should be rich in terms for mountain terrain, Da for village life, Fa for whaling, Ic for volcanic activity, Sw for forestry and mining, etc. Even so there is a high degree of equivalence; it is easier to translate even Ic into the mainland Sc languages than into English. Polite formulas are parallel even if not identical, e.g. 'skoal' is in all the languages even though the pronunciation differs (Ic/Fa skál [skaol]/[skåal]: Da DN NN Sw skål [sko:l]), and all have a phrase that goes with handing something over, lit. 'be so good' (Da Nw værsågod, Sw var så god), but Ic (and Fa) 'do so well' (gör svo vel).

#### References

For data concerning the separate languages see Chapter 2 above. The only comparative study of modern Sc is Hulthén 1944–8 on syntax (sec. 6.5 above). See Haugen 1966d on the problems of intercommunication and Haugen 1968 on the origin of the standard languages. For further surveys see Wessén (1941, 6. ed., 1960, Ger tr. 1968); Holmberg and Janzén (1963), with bibliography.

# Chapter 7

### The Historical Background

THE later chapters of this book will discuss in detail the background of the modern Scandinavian languages. The following sketch provides a preview of the historical development from the earliest times to the present and the periods into which it will be divided (Fig. 1).

7.1 The Prehistoric Era (to A.D. 550). The methods of comparative linguistics have made it possible to recover information about Scandinavian prior to the oldest records. The nineteenth-century discovery of kinship among the far-flung Indo-European languages led to the reconstruction of many features of their common ancestor. The Proto-Indo-European (PIE) that is constructed by comparison of its daughter languages is strictly hypothetical, a formula that most efficiently accounts for the known forms of the latter. At the same time we cannot be far wrong in thinking that it corresponds to some actual state of the language, at least in its main features. Similarly, that stage in its development which we call *Proto-Germanic* (PGmc) is a hypothetical intermediary between Proto-Indo-European and the attested Germanic languages, one which best accounts for their shared and unshared features. Neither of these languages can be dated with any confidence, and one cannot establish any precise delimitation of one from the other. One can only pick a certain major change, e.g. the fixing of stress on the first syllable of the word, and try to relate other changes as either prior to or later than this one.

A similar uncertainty exists concerning the exact beginnings of Scandinavian. Just as Proto-Germanic broke off from Proto-Indo-European, so a *Proto-Scandinavian* (PSc) broke off from Proto-Germanic. Again the point of breaking is hypothetical, and there is disagreement among scholars on the exact point that should be chosen. This is true even though we now begin to get records in the form of

Fig. 1. Historical Periods of the Scandinavian Languages

.D.	Periods (in	36			Terminology is	n Scandinavian te	exts	Historical events	
	this book)	(literary)		Danish (Skautrup)					
900 800	Modern times 1550-	Ic Fa NN	I DN	Da Sw	Yngre Nydansk 1700–	Yngre Nysvenskan 1732–		Iceland independent Norway independent	
700							Nynorsk 1525–	French Revolution	
600		Ic	Da	Sw	Ældre Nydansk –1700	Äldre Nysvenskan –1732		Thirty Years War Sweden independent Reformation	
500 400	From Medieval to Modern	MIc MNw	MDa	MSw	Yngre Middeldansk	Yngre Fornsvenskan	Mellomnorsk -1530	Scandinavian Union	
	1350-1550				-1500	-1526		Black Death	

1300	Medieval 1050-1350	OIc OFa ONw	ODa OSw OGu	Ældre Middeldansk –1350	Äldre Fornsvenskan –1375	Gammelnorsk -1370	Folkung Dynasty (Sw) The Valdemars (Da)
1100		OWSc	OESc		Runsvenskan		
1000	Ancient 550-1050	OWSc	OESc	Olddansk (Runedansk) –1100	J	Vikingtiden -1050	Christianity
900							Settlement of Iceland
800		Comn	non				Viking invasions
700		Scand (CSc)	inavian	Yngre Urnordisk	Urnordiskan -800	Synkopetiden -800	Settlement of Faroes Wars of Swedes and
600				-800			Geats
500	Prehistoric	(PSc)		Ældre Urnordisk		Urnordisk	Fall of the Roman Empire
400		Punic	Language	200-600		-500	Gmc invasion of Britain
300		Kume	Danguage				Gmc migrations Roman Iron Age
200		(NWC	Gmc)				First Runic inscriptions

inscriptions dated from about A.D. 200. From this time and down to about A.D. 800 the inscriptions are written in the older runic alphabet or futhark. This period is often called urnordisk or Proto-Scandinavian, but it may be seriously questioned how much of it is actually Sc at all. The inscriptions of the earlier centuries reveal a form of language so close to Proto-Germanic that it may actually be a late Proto-Germanic only just on the point of changing to the earliest truly Scandinavian language, which emerges from the sixth century on. As will be shown later, there is good reason to think that the language of the earliest Scandinavian runic inscriptions is not only the ancestor of Scandinavian or North Germanic, but also of West Germanic, including English and German. If so, our Proto-Scandinavian is also a Northwest Germanic (NWGmc), which gradually splits up around the time of the Anglo-Saxon migration to England (c. 450) and the isolation of Scandinavia.

7.2 Ancient Scandinavia (550-1050). The changes that appear in the runic inscriptions from about 550 bring forth the first truly Scandinavian language, one which we shall here call Common Scandinavian (CSc). Even though we have runic inscriptions from this period also, some features of the language are still hypothetical. From about A.D. 800, at the beginning of the Viking Age, a new and less adequate futhark takes the place of the old. Even so we can detect some changes that are beginning to break up the unity of Norden, changes which appear in full only in the later manuscripts. We shall here operate with a more or less idealized form of Common Scandinavian, one from which the later Scandinavian dialects can be derived. about as Proto-Scandinavian can be derived from Proto-Germanic etc. We shall assume, merely as a convenience, that this language lasted from 550 through the Viking Age and broke up with the coming of Christianity. It seems a reasonable assumption that in this era the new and vigorous contacts of Scandinavians with their neighbors across the sea led to linguistic changes. These are reflected in the new deviations that gradually separate the East Scandinavian area (Denmark and the southern two-thirds of Sweden, with adjacent parts of Norway) from the more conservative West Scandinavian (including most of Norway and the Norwegian settlements in the North Atlantic, above all Iceland). This was also the period of the first Scandinavian kingdoms, with the further fragmentation this implies.

- 7.3 The Middle Ages (1050–1350). With the firm establishment of Christianity in the eleventh century comes the emergence of the first manuscript documents. Handwritten sources in the Latin alphabet, duly modified to suit the local languages, give us a wealth of linguistic material. For the classical written languages of the high Middle Ages, down to about 1350, we shall use the term 'old'. Old West Scandinavian (OWSc), in its literary form also known as Old Norse (ON), gradually falls apart into Old Norwegian (ONw), Old Faroese (OFa) and Old Icelandic (OIc), as Old East Scandinavian (OESc) splits into Old Danish (ODa), Old Swedish (OSw) and Old Gutnish (OGu), the written tradition of the island of Gotland. Again, these types are somewhat hypothetical, in spite of the abundance of records: they are writing traditions, not spoken dialects. Yet it is at the end of this period that the present-day dialects began developing, at least from about 1300.
- 7.4 From Medieval to Modern (1350-1550). After 1350 the old traditions of writing were in rapid dissolution, in what is sometimes called the Middle Scandinavian period. Important political changes were forging the present-day languages: especially the dominance of German traders and princes and the establishment of Denmark and Sweden as the two great rival forces in the north. The invention of printing shortly before 1500 and the establishment of the Reformation soon after turned the writing traditions into literary languages. These could now become the media of communication for entire nations. Danish at one time bid fair to gain hegemony over all Norden, but the political liberation of Sweden in 1523 assured Swedish its place in the sun. During the following two centuries these two were firmly established as modern languages. Meanwhile, Icelandic led a retired and relatively unnoticed existence, but succeeded in surviving its hibernation, as written Norwegian and Gutnish did not.
- 7.5 Modern Times (1550 on). The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the rise of Sweden as a European power and its expansion at the expense of Denmark, with a corresponding wave of national feeling in each country. Da and Sw scholars cultivated their national languages as the power of Lat gradually declined in the schools. Antiquarian research brought to light the existence of the older literatures and languages and called attention to Iceland as the focus of old Nordic values. With the growth of an educated and privileged class

towards the end of the seventeenth century, new spoken norms came into being which were supralocal and prestigious. The written language became a model for good speaking; in the eighteenth century conscious cultivation of the languages became an important factor in their development. The political events that led to the loss of Finland in 1809, the independence of Norway in a union with Sweden from 1814 to 1905 and the independence of Iceland in 1944 also had farreaching linguistic effects. Not only was Icelandic strengthened and purified, but new literary languages arose in the Faroe Islands and in Norway. The spread of education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to include the entire population brought a greater concern about the national language. As a result, Faroese, New-Norwegian and Dano-Norwegian replaced Danish as literary languages in large parts of what had been the Danish empire, just as Swedish had done earlier in the lost provinces of southern Sweden.

#### References

The only comprehensive history of a Scandinavian language is Skautrup's four-volume study of Danish (1944–68), which is very full on the external setting, but less satisfying on linguistic details. Wessén's three-volume history of Swedish (latest ed. 1965; Ger tr. 1970) omits the external history entirely and concentrates on the grammar. A brief, readable survey of the history of Swedish is Bergman (1968), which is completely rewritten and expanded from his earlier history (Eng tr. 1947). Indrebø's history of Norwegian (1951) was posthumously published and is not entirely complete; it surveys and organizes its material to lead up to Aasen's restoration of New Norwegian. Seip's history (1955) goes only to the end of the Old Norwegian period; the emphasis is on phonological and grammatical details in the manuscripts. The Ger translation by Saltveit (1971) includes a new section on the later periods. Skard (1967) is a general textbook which it is planned to continue down to the present.

The only modern attempt to combine the history of Scandinavian into a single volume is Steblin-Kamenskij (1953), available only in Russian. Wessén's brief survey (6. ed., 1960, Ger tr. 1968) covers all the languages. For an evaluation of research in Sc linguistics since 1918 see Haugen and Markey (1973). For a bibliography of Sc linguistics 1900–70 see Haugen (1974).

# Section B

# THE GROWTH OF SCANDINAVIAN: A HISTORICAL SURVEY

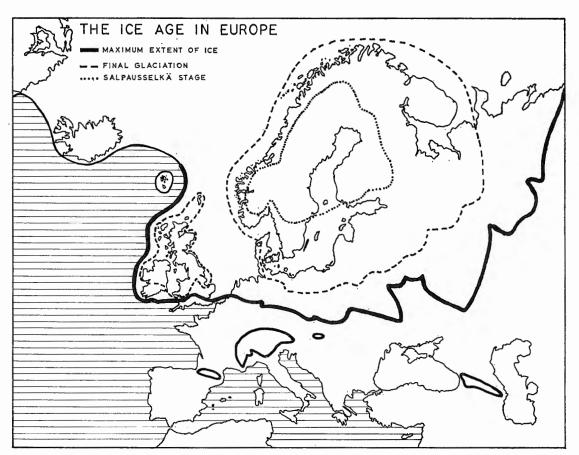
## Chapter 8

# The Prehistoric Era (to A.D. 550): Proto-Scandinavian

8.1 The Coming of the Indo-Europeans. No one has yet been able to determine when the first speakers of Indo-European entered Scandinavia. The prehistoric skulls unearthed by the archaeologists' spades are mute testimony to the presence of nomadic hunters as far back as 10,000 B.C., when the glacier began melting away (Map 2). These mesolithic men used simple chipped flint implements to pursue the reindeer, whose bones and horns they turned into axe handles and harpoons. Climatic and geographic conditions were far different from those of today: for a very long time the Baltic was a freshwater lake, and from the Continent one could march right across Denmark into Sweden. Living sites representing the so-called Maglemose culture have been found in Siælland from about 6000 B.C. They display bone, flint and wood implements, as well as household objects decorated with geometrical incisions and animal figures. Around 5000 B.C. appear the classical Danish 'kitchen middens', refuse heaps containing the bones of animals and fish, oyster shells, implements and earthen pots. Their enormous size, with a depth of up to six feet and a length of up to five hundred feet, testify to a more or less permanent habitation.

Not until the Neolithic Age, from about 3000 B.C., can we be reasonably sure that Indo-European was spoken in Scandinavia. At that time a mode of living was introduced which remained substantially unchanged down to early modern times: agriculture and cattle herding were established. Men learned to make pottery called 'funnel beakers', decorated with zigzag, crisscross and triangular figures. A new type of axe appeared, probably intended for warlike purposes, which has led to calling the people who made them 'the battle-axe people'. New habits of burial were adopted, single-grave burials to

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Map 2

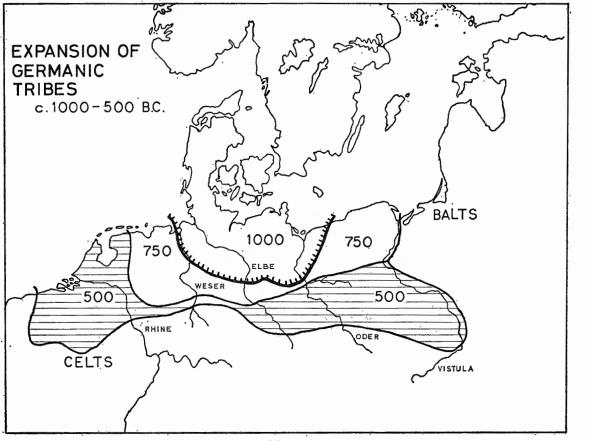
replace the earlier megaliths known as dolmens and passage graves. Some scholars have speculated that the battle-axe people might have been the first Indo-Europeans, whose well-known habits of expansion and conquest enabled them to overrun most of Europe and western Asia in the third millennium B.C. In any case there has been no evidence of any cultural revolutions since that time radical enough to be accounted for by mass invasions, excepting for the immigration of Finnish speakers into Finland and northern Scandinavia, possibly in the first century of our era (Kivikoski 1967: 74).

Around 1500 B.C. the manufacture of bronze was introduced in the north, a skill that had spread from Asia Minor. This alloy of copper and tin was greatly superior to stone, but its expense limited its use to weapons and personal ornaments. Ordinary objects continued to be made of stone and wood; the bronze objects marked their owners as members of an aristocratic, warrior class. The northern peoples had to import the new materials, but quickly attained great skill in their treatment of them. The casting of bronze reached its culmination in the bronze trumpets known as lurs, which have been found especially in Danish soil; these come in pairs, are gracefully curved and engraved, and were presumably blown by twin trumpeters at the head of festive religious processions. Burial mounds raised in honor of the tribal chiefs testify to the growth of leadership. Cremation later takes the place of mound burial, hinting perhaps at a new and more immaterial conception of the soul and its survival after death. The most dramatic remains of the Bronze Age are the rock carvings (Da Nw helleristninger/Sw hällristningar) found on broad cliff surfaces throughout Norden as far north as Finnmark. The fact of their being stylized rather than naturalistic suggests an attempt to communicate ideas: they are symbolic without being clearly interpretable. There are stick-like human figures, alone and in groups, on boats and in processions, as well as animals, trees, wagons, circles, wheels, cupshaped hollows, swastikas and other symbols that may reflect sun worship, fertility rites and sacrifices (Hagen 1965).

Around 500 B.C. the use of iron was introduced, and the remaining centuries down to the dawn of history are referred to as the Iron Age. The Early Iron Age (to about A.D. 50) was a cold, moist period with few finds. The population may have been cut off from southern trade routes by the movement of the Celts across Europe and into Britain. The Celts were also Indo-Europeans, but by the beginning of the

Iron Age they were no doubt clearly differentiated linguistically from the Germanic peoples clustered around the confluence of the North Sea and the Baltic. The Celts may even have transmitted the smelting of iron to the Germans, since the word 'iron' may be a Celtic loan. In the later centuries of the period, however, the Germanic peoples began pressing southwards into Celtic territory, while the Romans extended their empire into Celtic Gaul, establishing dominion by 51 B.C. (Stenberger 1962: 122). The Celts were gradually absorbed, except in Britain, and the Germans now faced the Romans across the Rhine and the Danube. In Scandinavia the period that followed is called the 'Roman Iron Age'; it lasted to the fall of the Roman Empire and the Germanic migrations of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. For the Scandinavians it was a period of favorable climate, with rapidly rising standards of culture, thanks to close contacts with the Romans and their traders. Grave finds in Norden show rich treasures of Roman artifacts, as well as a highly developed native production.

8.2 The Germanic Tribes. The development of a special dialect of Indo-European (IE) among the tribes of northwestern Europe must have been well on its way by 2000 B.C. We shall here refer to this dialect by its traditional name, Germanic (Gmc), in preference to such alternative suggestions as Teutonic (used by some English writers) or Gotthonic (used by some Danish writers). The reconstructed, timeless form of it with which linguists operate will be called Proto-Germanic (PGmc), a translation into English of the German term Urgermanisch (Sc urgermansk/Ic frumgermanska). The heartland of this development was clearly that bottleneck of the Baltic which is constituted by present-day Denmark and southern Sweden, from Jutland to Scania. From here Gmc speakers spread north into Norway and Sweden until they met the Finns and Lapps, west along the coasts of the North Sea, east along the Baltic, and south into presentday Germany. By 500 B.C. it is believed that Gmc may have reached beyond the Netherlands in the west, the Vistula River (in presentday Poland) in the east and central Germany in the south (Map 3; Schwarz 1956: 17 ff.). There is no reason to believe that Germania. as Tacitus called it in the first century A.D., was ever politically or racially unified; there was no Germanic nation, only tribal aggregations, who occupied certain areas for a time and then moved on. In the accounts of outside observers tribal names appear and disappear,



giving us a kaleidoscopic and confused picture of their political organization down to the time of their conversion to Christianity. Attempts have been made to associate the tribal and other names with linguistic differentiation; but there is little evidence to support these, and we may assume that at least down to the beginning of our era and even later there was great freedom of movement among the tribes and a consequent tendency for Gmc to remain reasonably unified (Moser 1951).

8.3 Germanic. The language of the Germanic tribes is known to us only through reconstruction, that is, by systematic comparison of the daughter languages with each other and with other more distantly related Indo-European (IE) languages. The splitting off of the Germanic dialect from the IE unity may have taken as long as 2,000 years. The Proto-Germanic (PGmc) language belonged to the so-called 'kentum' group, which included Greek, Italic, Celtic, Illyrian, Tocharian and Anatolian. These did not share the innovation whereby k>s in the 'satem' group, including Baltic, Slavic, Albanian, Armenian and Indo-Iranian (kentum and satem are the respective words for 'hundred' in Latin and Avestan). PGmc itself kept changing and was probably at no time entirely uniform. Here we can only mention a few of the crucial changes from PIE (Proto-Indo-European) to PGmc, including those which are still visible as differences between all Gmc languages and, for example, Latin or Greek.

8.3.1. While Gmc was still very close to PIE, its occlusive (stop) consonants began drifting away from their earlier phonetic qualities. The change is called the *Gmc consonant shift* (first formulated by the Dane R. Rask and the German J. Grimm), in which each stop replaced one phonetic feature by another, as shown in this simplified table:

	Labials	Dentals	Velars
Voiceless stops [occlusion > opening]	p > f	t > b	k > x
Voiced stops [voicing > voicelessness]	b > p	d > t	g > k
Voiced aspirates [aspiration > opening]	bh > b	$dh > \delta$	$\mathrm{gh}>oldsymbol{g}$

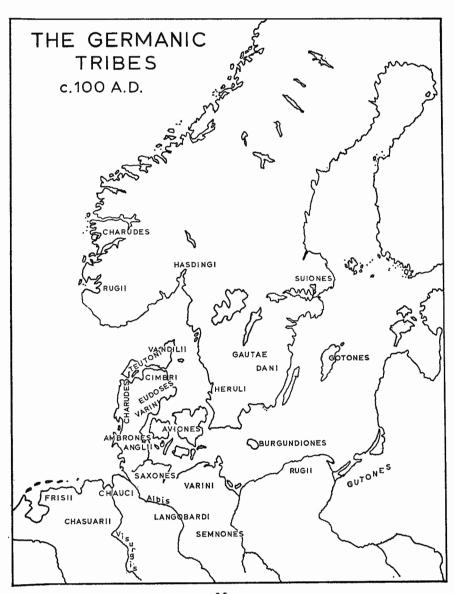
Examples from the dental series are the first consonants of the following words: ON  $b\bar{u}$ , Eng thou (cf Lat  $t\bar{u}$ ); ON tonn, Eng tooth (cf Lat  $d\bar{e}ns$ , Ionian Gk  $od\bar{o}n$ ); ON dyrr, Eng door (cf Lat foris, from IE dhwor-o-).

- **8.3.2.** The voiceless spirants  $f \not b x$ , together with the voiceless sibilant s, were voiced in voiced environment unless immediately preceded by the IE pitch accent, becoming  $b \partial g z$  respectively. Known as Verner's Law (from its discoverer, the Dane Karl Verner), this rule accounts for the difference between Eng was and were, in which the last consonants were once s and z (as in PSc also: was— $w\bar{a}zun$ ).
- 8.3.3. The change that is considered most important in constituting Gmc as a separate dialect or language of its own, however, is the fixing of stress on the first syllable of the word. In IE the stress had been 'free', i.e. in different words or even different forms of the same word it could fall on different syllables. The fixing of stress tended to concentrate attention on the root syllable, so that less weight was given to the following syllables until eventually many of the latter disappeared. This began even before PGmc with the loss of final -a and -e, as in Gmc wait (ON veit, OE wāt, Ger weiss) from older waita I know (cf Gk poida), waite he knows (cf Gk poide).
- **8.3.4.** Some important changes also took place in the vowel system, which was reduced from five long and five short vowels to four of each by the merger of  $\bar{a}$  with  $\bar{o}$  and o with a, cf ON  $br\bar{o}\bar{o}ir$ , Eng brother, but Lat  $fr\bar{a}ter$ , or PSc axtau (ON atta), Eng eight, but Lat  $oct\bar{o}$ . The IE syllabics  $lm_i r$  developed their syllabicity into a preceding u (>  $ulm_i r$   $um_i r$ ), as in Eng murder compared with Skr mrtam death. The diphthong  $ei > \bar{i}$ , as in ON  $st\bar{i}ga$  stride (cf Gk  $stelkh\bar{o}$ ). By the time of PSc a new  $\bar{a}$  (from  $\bar{e}$ ) and an o (from u) developed, thus restoring the five-vowel system.
- 8.3.5. The grammar was also drastically reshaped: (1) Eight cases in the noun were reduced to four by merger of the ablative, locative and instrumental (generally) with the dative and of the vocative with the nominative. (2) A 'weak' form of the adjectives arose presumably by influence from the weak nouns (the IE n-declension, e.g. Lat ratiō-n-is gen. sg. of ratiō reason). (3) Tenses replaced the IE aspects, giving Gmc a present and a preterite. (4) In what came to be called the 'strong' verbs (Eng sing-sang), the tense forms were taken over from the IE perfect, but in the so-called 'weak' verbs new forms arose by the suffixation of a dental consonant, usually  $\delta$  (Eng jump-jumped).
- 8.4 The Great Migrations. The confrontation of the Germans and the Romans could hardly remain static, given the restless expansion of both. The consequences in European history are well known, and

we shall concentrate on those movements that have some bearing on Scandinavia and its future relationships to other peoples. In 114 B.C. the Cimbri and the Teutoni were among the earliest Gmc tribes to engage the Romans in battle; they were soon annihilated, the Teutoni in Aix-en-Provence in 102 B.C. and the Cimbri at Vercelli in the Italian Piedmont in 101. Both tribes probably came from Jutland, where the names Himmerland and Thy (<\*Theuð-) may be reminiscences of their original homes (Map 4).

8.4.1. One of the most prominent migratory peoples was the Goths, who successively established dominions in the Balkans, in Italy and in Spain. According to their historian Jordanes (A.D. 551), they came to their first attested location on the Vistula in northern Germany from the island of Scandza, i.e. Sweden. This purely oral tradition is confirmed, though a little confusingly, by the existence of two major areas of Sweden bearing names related to that of the Goths (ON gotar, from a stem \*gut-): Gotland and Götaland. Linguistically the name gotar is closest to that of the Baltic island of Gotland, but archaeological reasons have been alleged (and denied) for associating them with Götaland in central Sweden (ON Gautland, from a stem gaut-) (Krause 1953: 3-5, but see now Hachman 1970). The three names fit nicely into an ablaut series which is found in the ON verb gjóta pour (pret. gaut, p.p. gotinn), from Gmc geut-, gaut-, gut- respectively. This establishes their relationship without clarifying exactly what it is (de Vries 1961, s.v. Gautr, goti, gotnar; but see Wessén 1924).

Since the Goths are known to have been on the Vistula in the first century A.D., it is assumed that their departure from Sweden may have taken place about 100 B.C. (Schwarz 1956: 83 ff.; but see C. A. Moberg 1964, who rejects all migration theories). The crossing of the Baltic obviously represented no great problem; on its southern and eastern shore they joined or were joined by other Gmc peoples who appear to have come from Scandinavia, such as the Rugians, the Vandals and the Burgundians. The name of the Rugians is probably preserved in Rogaland in Norway (and in Rügen in the Baltic, off the German coast), that of the Vandals in Vendsyssel in Jutland, that of the Burgundians in Borgund, Norway, and Bornholm (ON Borgundarholmr) in Denmark. Together these Gmc tribes constituted an eastern outpost of Gmc speech, which is known to us chiefly through Wulfila's translation of the Bible into Gothic. This was made later, however, after the Goths had settled on the Black Sea around A.D. 200,



Map 4

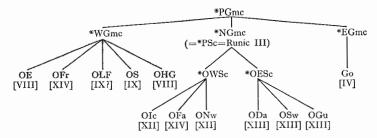
where they were Christianized. Wulfila's work is usually dated around A.D. 350. Gothic is of great importance for an understanding of the relations between Scandinavian and other Gmc dialects.

- 8.4.2. Jordanes, commenting on the tendency of Scandinavians to emerge from their homes on expeditions of conquest, refers to Scandinavia as a vagina gentium, a womb of peoples. Others who found their way out were the Harudas (Latin Charudes, ON horðar), the Jutes, the Angles and the Langobards (originally called Winnili). Reminiscences of these are found in the Sc place names Hardanger and Hordaland in Norway, Harsyssel (ODa Harthasyssel) in Denmark, the peninsula of Jutland, the district of Angeln near Flensborg (now in Germany), and possibly Vinsnes in Norway (Kuhn 1955: 7). The Harudas pushed into southern Germany (Schwarz 1956: 162), the Langobards into Austria (sixth century) and then over the Alps, where they succeeded the Goths as rulers of northern Italy. About A.D. 450 the Jutes and the Angles joined their southern neighbors, the Saxons, in an invasion of Celtic Britain to lay the foundations of Anglo-Saxon England.
- 8.4.3. In Germany new groupings of peoples sprang up during this period. In the west emerged the Franks, who were first heard of in the third century, crossed the Rhine by the end of the fifth, and established a new Christian power under Chlodwig (Clovis), part of which was within the old Roman empire. Northern Germany (Westphalia) was dominated by those Saxons who did not leave for Britain but moved south of the Elbe, while in southern Germany rule was established by the Alemanni in the west, the Suebi in Swabia, the Bajuwari in Bavaria and the Marcomanni in present-day Bohemia. By the end of the fifth century A.D. the Gmc expansion in central Europe had reached its limits for the time being, and populations were stabilized under the influence of Christian and Roman concepts of political authority.
- 8.4.4. In the north, however, the old conditions remained for at least three more centuries. In Jutland and Sjælland the departure of many of the older peoples for the south had left a gap, which was filled by the emergence of the Danes from the Scandinavian peninsula (Brøndsted 1938–40, 3: 257; Elgquist 1952: 106). They are reported by Jordanes to have driven a people called the Heruleans (Heruli) out of this area, possibly in the third century (Wessén 1927 thinks in the fifth). By 500 they were certainly masters of the whole peninsula down

to the Ejder River, which for centuries remained the traditional border between Scandinavians and Germans (Saxons). As for the Heruleans, they are a mysterious people, who may not have been a tribe at all, but a vikinglike band of warriors dedicated to the arts of war. After bobbing up briefly in many parts of southern Europe, they are said to have returned to the north and settled next to the Gautar in central Sweden, in the year 512. The Gautar themselves were soon after conquered by the Swedes (ON Sviar, Lat Suiones), following numerous conflicts in part reflected in the Anglo-Saxon epic poem Beowulf. Other tribes in Scandinavia are reported in Latin sources of the period, such as the Raumariciae and the Ragnaricii (ON Raumariki, now Romerike near Oslo, and Ranriki, the old name of Bohuslän in western Sweden) (Skautrup 1.17).

- 8.5 The Break-up of Germanic. By the time of the earliest written texts (third and fourth centuries) there was a distinct cleavage between the language of Scandinavia and that of the Goths and other Germanic tribes in the east. When seen in relation to PGmc, these are distinguished as North Germanic (NGmc) and East Germanic (EGmc). The remaining Germanic dialects are customarily lumped together under the designation of West Germanic (WGmc), although they include such clearly distinct languages as the later Old English (Anglo-Saxon), Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian, Old Frisian and Old High German. Even in the third and fourth centuries these were far from uniform, but in the absence of extensive texts it is hard to say exactly how different they were from one another and from North and East Germanic. The East Germanic tribes moved on and were absorbed by other nations, leaving us virtually only Wulfila's Bible as evidence.
- 8.5.1. The tripartite split of PGmc was first established by August Schleicher (1860: 94), who called the divisions, respectively, Nordisch, Gotisch and Deutsch. The terminology used above was supplied by Wilhelm Streitberg (1896: 13) and is now standard. Some have suggested linguistically mnemonic terms, e.g. Krause (1953) the 'dagazgroup' (NGmc), the 'dags-group' (EGmc) and the 'dag-group' (WGmc), from the nom. sg. of the word 'day' (the masc. a-stems); Mossé (1956) used the word for 'dale': dalr, dals, dal, replacing the earliest NGmc form with the ON. This traditional view of Gmc branching is displayed in the following diagram, which also lists the oldest written dialects in each branch; unwritten languages

are starred. The Roman numerals represent the century of earliest attestation.



This stemma or family tree is a convenient visualization, but dialectologists have shown that dialects do not split off from one another in quite so neat a fashion. Differentiation results from the spread of individual innovations, each of which may be drawn on a map as an isogloss. These do not usually coincide in their spread, but when enough of them have been established, one can begin to speak of distinct dialects. But as long as communication across dialect borders continues, a dialect may have some isoglosses in common with each of its neighbors.

8.5.2. The position of NGmc is intermediate between WGmc and EGmc, as its geographical location would suggest: it has isoglosses in common with both, while these have virtually none with each other. For the chronology of its earliest development it is of some interest to determine whether NGmc has more early isoglosses in common with EGmc or WGmc. In most older handbooks it is claimed that NGmc and EGmc split off first from WGmc and then continued to develop innovations together. This view would replace the tripartite stemma above with two successive splits, first WGmc vs. North/East Gmc, then NGmc vs. EGmc. Scherer (1868, followed by Müllenhoff 1900: 4. 121) called the first split one between West and East, Neckel (1927) between South (Südisch) and North (Nordisch), Schwarz (1951) between South Gmc and Gotho-Nordic:



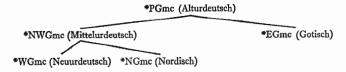
The chief evidence advanced for a common N-EGmc development consists of the following isoglosses:

	WGmc	N-EGmc	
(1) Holtzmann's law (formulated 1835; see Holtzmann 1870,	OHG triuwa	ON tryggva Go triggwa	true f. acc.
Roe 1965), the 'sharpening' of geminate glides: ww > ggw, jj > NGmc ggj, EGmc ddj	OHG zweiio	ON tveggja Go twaddje	two g. pl.
(2) 2. p. sg. pret. of strong verbs:  WGmc -i (e), N-EGmc -t	OS nami OE næme	ON namt Go namt	(you) took
(3) $\bar{u} > \text{ESc } \bar{o}$ , Go [0], written $au$	OE būan ON búa	OSw bōa Go bauan	dwell
(4) 1. p. sg. pres. subj. WGmc -e, PSc -ō, Go -au	OE nime OS nime	ON nema Go nimau	(that I) take

The probative value of these and other items that have been advanced is weak. Holtzmann's law does not apply universally in ON and may be a later development there; it is a common enough type of change. The verbal -t may not be an innovation, but a retention of the PIE perfect -tha (Gk ois-tha you knew), while the WGmc -i may be an analogical change due to the optative (Polomé 1964: 879). ESc and PSc ō have separate derivations from Go au. Other coincidences between NGmc and EGmc are probably the result of parallel rather than common developments, e.g. inchoatives in -n- (ON vakna, Go -waknan awake, but cf also OE wæcnan), long forms of ganga go and standa stand vs. short forms like OHG gan, stan (but OE has forms like gangan and standan, while ODa and OSw have forms like  $g\bar{a}$ ,  $st\bar{a}$ ). Most of the agreements between EGmc and NGmc are either common retentions from PGmc (as the in-stem declension of the present participle) or common selections from available PGmc alternatives.

8.5.3. For these reasons several recent writers have urged a different view: that the break between NGmc and WGmc is actually later than that between NGmc and EGmc. Kuhn (1952) explicitly rejected Schwarz's attempt to reconstruct a Proto-Gotho-Nordic (Schwarz 1951, 1953; Kuhn 1955). The Polish scholar Adamus (1962a, b) surveyed the morphological structures and found that Go stands apart from both NGmc and WGmc, which have much in common. Antonsen (1965) proposed that the departure of the Goths towards the east left a relatively unified remainder of PGmc which could be labeled Northwest Germanic (NWGmc). This view goes back at least to Förstemann (1869), who split his Urdeutsch (= PGmc) into an old,

middle and new period, the 'middle' being one in which Go split off, the 'new' one in which NGmc split off. One could represent this view in the following tree:



The evidence for this hypothesis consists primarily in a long list of common innovations in West and North Gmc which are not shared by East Gmc. Voyles (1968: 744) lists thirteen phonological changes which must have occurred 'when North and West Germanic were a single dialect'. It is striking that the two developed a common fivevowel system and merged the unstressed vowels in virtually identical ways. Some of the more important innovations were:

	NWGmc	EGmc (Go)
(1) o/_m unstressed >	OHG tagum, ON dogum	dagam days d. pl.
NWGmc u, EGmc a	OHG berumēs, ON berum	bairam we bear
(2) $\bar{o}/$ _# unstressed >	OE giefu, PSc gebu	giba gift
NWGmc $u$ , EGmc $a$	OE wordu, PSc worðu	waurda words
	OS beru, PSc beru	baira I bear
(3) $ai/$ unstressed >	OHG tage, PSc dagē	daga day dat. sg.
NWGmc ē, EGmc a		
(4) ai/_ optative > NWGmc	OHG helfēs, PSc helpēz	hilpais you help
ē, EGmc ai	-	
(5) <i>au</i> /_ gen. sg. > NWGmc	OHG fridoo, PSc sunōz	sunaus son gen. sg.
ō, EGmc au		
(6) <i>ēi</i> / <b></b> —♯ unstressed >	OS ansti, PSc brūði	anstai love dat. sg.
NWGmc i, EGmc ai		
(7) $\bar{e}u/$ _# unstressed >	OHG suniu, PSc magiu	sunau son dat. sg.
NWGmc 111, EGmc au	,	
(8) $\bar{e}_1 > \text{NWGmc } \bar{a} \ (\bar{e} \text{ in some})$	OHG māno, ON máni	<i>mēna</i> moon
OE), EGmc ē	Í	
(9) z/stressed V_> NWGmc	OHG mēro, ON meiri	maiza more
r, EGmc z	-	

Differences in the grammatical suffixes, which may go back to differences in ablaut or in leveling, include the following:

(10) Gen. sg. m. NWGmc -as,	OS dagas, PSc dagas	dagis day gen. sg.
EGmc -is (11) Gen. pl. m. NWGmc -a, EGmc -e		dagē day gen. pl.

(12) N-stems, oblique cases NWGmc -an, EGmc -an,	OE honan, PSc hanan	hanan, hanins, hanin cock
-ins, -in	OC == down ON = d drown	a 5 damma and
(13) Dat. sg. m. adj. NWGmc -um, EGmc -amma	OS gōdum, ON góðum	gõdamma good
(14) Dat. sg. f. adj. NWGmc -r, EGmc -ai	OS gōderu, ON gōðri	gōdai good dat.
(15) Dem. pron. pe+-si NWGmc, not EGmc	OHG dese, ON pessi	sa this
(16) Reduplication reduced NWGmc, not EGmc	OS hēt, ON hét	haihait was named

After this impressive list it is puzzling to read in Krahe (1966: 1. 37–8) that the parallels of NGmc and WGmc are 'nicht besonders merkwürdig' and that they are 'sehr viel weniger characteristisch' than those of NGmc and EGmc. To assume spontaneous independent origin for all of them (as Höfler does 1955, 1956) is not attractive. As H. Benediktsson (1967) has pointed out, the common vowel system is a crucial fact.

The historical evidence for continuous contact between Western Germany and Scandinavia during the early centuries of our era has been detailed above (8.4 ff.). Until the departure for Britain of the Angles and Jutes, the entry of the Danes into Denmark, and the westward thrust of the Slavs along the Baltic, there was no sharp border between NGmc and WGmc. The North German–Danish area was dominated by the religious cult groups described by Pliny and Tacitus in the first century A.D. It is unlikely that these (the Ingvaeones, Istaevones, Erminiones) were distinct linguistic entities; more probably they represented associated but complementary emphases within a common religion (they were all the 'sons of Tuisto') (Scherer 1868, Wrede 1924, Frings 1957).

**8.5.4.** The WGmc languages were heterogeneous from the start, and it is hard to find isoglosses that set all the languages off from NGmc (and EGmc):

	WGmc	NGmc	EGmc
(1) Consonant gemination after short vowels (also in NGmc, e.g. leggja lay)	OS akkar OS settian	ON akr ON setja	Go akrs field Go satjan set
(2) Loss of w after ng (also ODa siunga)	OHG singan	ON syngva	Go siggwan sing
(3) Occlusion of medial ð	OE beodan	ON bjóða	Go biudan offer [biuðan]

	WGmc	NGmc	EGmc
(4) Loss of postconsonantal z (R) (need not be older than 350)	OE giest	ON gestr	Go gasts guest

8.5.5. Independent support for NW Germanic comes from a study of the vocabulary made by Arndt (1959). In an attempt to apply Swadesh's glotto-chronological 200-word list, he found the most marked cleavage between Gothic on the one hand and the other Gmc languages on the other, and argued that this split was the oldest: 'The EGmc migrations southward put an end to PGmc lexical unity about the start of the Christian era. The residual PGmc (or "NWGmc") of the early centuries of our era disintegrated further between A.D. 200 and 300 as lexical contact broke down—first between the nascent NGmc and the Elbe Gmc that was advancing southward, then between NGmc and North Sea Gmc as the latter gradually developed southern and western affiliations. . . . From then on, NGmc developed independently, only Frisian retaining a more prolonged association with it' (Arndt 1959: 191; see also Lerchner 1965a and b). While there is reason to maintain skepticism about this method for any kind of absolute dating, there is suggestive evidence here for a relative chronology. A judicious proposal by Rösel (1962) argues that splitting dialects choose among available alternatives. He ranges the Gmc dialects according to their selection, with the earliest split between a northern group of dialects that includes NGmc, Go and OE and a southern group that includes OS and OHG. Like most dialectologists he rejects the concept of family-tree splits; the Gmc dialects 'do not strive to part from one another, but remain in everchanging connection with one another' (Rösel 1962: 120; Schmidt 1875: 451; for other views see Rosenfeld 1954: 367 ff.; Žirmunskij 1961, Ger trans. 14 ff.; Lehmann 1952: 36-46).

The linguistic evidence for a prolonged north-west contact fits well with the historical data detailed above. The Goths and other eastern tribes broke away first, losing contact before many of the later developments in the old Germanic area. The main body of continental Germans pressed south and west where they developed the rudiments of OHG. In the fifth century a North Sea Gmc developed, out of which grew OS in northern Germany, OF on the North Sea coast, OLF to the west and OE in England. Meanwhile the Slavic Wends thrust a wedge between Germans and Scandinavians by occupying

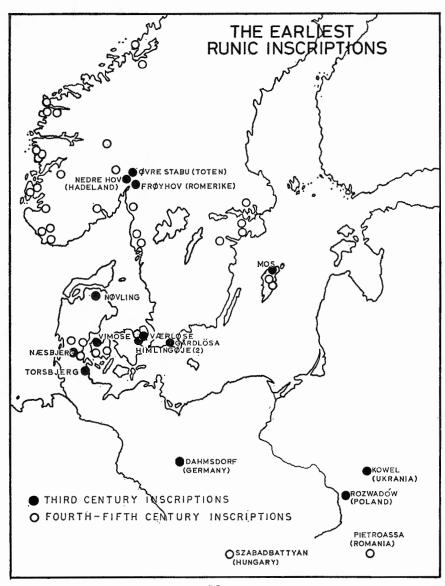
the Baltic coast as far west as Holstein. The gradual transition between North and West Gmc was broken by the departure of West Gmc tribes from Jutland and the occupation of the peninsula by the Danes.

8.6 The Earliest Writings. The first direct testimonials to any kind of Gmc language are found in Scandinavia. These are the inscriptions in the runic alphabet beginning about A.D. 200, most of which have been found within the confines of present-day Denmark and Norway. Down to about A.D. 550 there are some 125 inscriptions, most of them consisting of one or two words and often very difficult to interpret. That they have been interpreted at all is due in no small measure to the availability of other, indirect sources for the language of this period. Comparison with other IE and Gmc languages, particularly the contemporary but deviant Gothic, as well as later Scandinavian, has made it possible to reconstruct the language of early Scandinavia and relate it to the forms found on the earliest runic monuments. The study of loanwords borrowed from and into neighboring languages (e.g. Finnish and Lappish) has brilliantly confirmed the hypotheses of reconstruction (Kylstra 1961; Sköld 1961). As we have already seen, Latin and other foreign authors sometimes preserve proper names in forms that tell us something about early Scandinavian, even though they have often been distorted.

**8.6.1.** A few of the runic inscriptions are scattered outside of the area mentioned, enough to show that some familiarity with the use of runes existed among other Gmc peoples. Some of the earliest have been found along the route of the Goths: in Gotland, Germany, the Ukraine, Yugoslavia and Romania—enough to have suggested to some that the Goths may have known or even invented the runes, or at least that Wulfila was inspired by them when he created his Gothic alphabet (but see 8.7.4–5 below). These inscriptions are all on loose objects, however, which could have been transported by the mobile tribes of the migration period. Most of the inscriptions are geographically Scandinavian, with a center of intensity in Denmark, the significance of which we shall discuss shortly.

The inscriptions of the earliest period are remarkably homogeneous both in content and language, which could well be due to their common geographical origin, as suggested (see Map 5). In this belligerent period we are not surprised to find five inscribed spearblades in widely scattered places: Norway (Øvre Stabu), Gotland

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Map 5

(Mos), Prussia (Dahmsdorf), Poland (Rozwadów) and the Ukraine (Kowel). (Inscriptions are named by their place of finding.) In so far as they are decipherable, these consist of a single word descriptive of or naming the spear: 'attacker', 'runner', 'tester', 'screamer' (?). Other military relics are a shield boss and a sword pommel from southern Schleswig (Torsbjerg), a sword knob and a sheath ornament from Fyn (Vimose). The Vimose marsh find also included a wooden plane, a comb and a buckle, while five silver fibulas (a kind of clasp) come from Jutland (Næsbjerg, Nøvling), Sjælland (Himlingøje 2, Værløse) and Skåne (Gårdlösa). A bronze figurine from Norway (Frøyhov) completes the third-century material.

(Frøyhov) completes the third-century material.

All but the last (which is undecipherable) contain a proper name or a descriptive term which may have been applied to the owner or carver, plainly a simple object identification. Four of them have enough words to make some kind of sentence, again referring to the object or to its owner, e.g. Māri aih Al[l]a mākija Alla owns the sword, the famous one (Vimose, pommel).

8.6.2. In the fourth century there are Da inscriptions on such objects as arrow shafts (Nydam), a gold ring (Strårup), a clasp (Himlingøje 1), a wooden box (Garbølle) and a gold horn (Gallehus)—the most famous of all runic inscriptions:

Text (a)

## MOHEMPEXEZETEMENTO PARTETIONS:

Ek HlewagastiR HoltijaR horna tawiðō I, HlewagastiR, the son of Holti, made the horn. Although this is inscribed on a highly ornamental object, destined to be borne in ritual processions, the inscription is no different in type or language from that on the simple box of Garbølle in Sjælland: HagirāðaR tawiðē HagirāðaR made [the box, or perhaps the runes].

Einang (in Norway) is the first example of the custom of carving in stone, which quite naturally arose in Norway, where this material was most abundant. Eight more such inscriptions from this century (all, except possibly one, also in the first person) are distributed along the Norwegian coast from Bohuslän in the east to Trøndelag in the north (in order: Kalleby, Rö, Tune, Vetteland, Nordhuglo, Kårstad, Myklebostad, Valsfjord). The effort required to carve them and the

relative permanence of the stones gave the carver more scope and incentive; from this time on the tradition of runic carving was unbroken. The messages conveyed became richer and more revealing, tied as they often were to a commemoration of the dead.

**8.6.3.** While inscriptions continued to be made on loose objects, the petroglyphs are from now on the most generally interesting. From the fifth century there are nineteen in Norway and seven in Sweden, whither the custom seems to have spread (though not yet to Denmark); in the sixth century there are only seven and four, respectively. Some of them are interesting not only for their content but also for their semi-poetic form. It has been said that the Gallehus inscription (above) with its four beats, three of them alliterative, is the oldest line of Gmc verse. While none of the rock inscriptions is as metrically perfect, they often have a chantlike, ritualistic quality, with irregular alliteration and repetition:

Ek Hagusta[I]daR hlaiwiðō I HagustaldaR buried magu mīninō. (here) my son. (Kjølevik)

Ek irilaR, HrōRaR HrōReR, I the runemaster, HroRaR son of HroRaR, orte þat arina ūt Alaifu. made this stone for Alaifu. (By)

Text(b)



M < P | P F Y F P ↑ M R P & M N R I
e k w i w a R a f t e r w o d u r i

↑ ↑ H ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
o th a r o w n a bi a l a h ad a tiw e d

(Tune Stone, Norway, c. A.D. 400: Recto, with reversed runes in line two)

Ek WīwaR after Wōðurīðē wita[n]dahlaiban worhtō. [Mē]R Wōðurīðē staina brijor dohtriR daliðun, arbij[a] arjoster arbijano.

I WiwaR after Wodurid the bread-giver made [the runes]. For me, WoduridaR, the stone three daughters prepared, the closest heirs the grave feast. (Tune)

Birg[i]ngu Borō swestar mīnu Burial, Boro my sister, liubu mēR Wagē.

dear to me, WagaR. (Opedal)

8.6.4. The end of the older runic tradition came with the fad of stamping out gold bracteates, which began in Denmark sometime in the fifth century and lasted until about 550. These were native imitations of Roman medallions, used as amulet-ornaments; in the center were various stereotyped figures, sometimes surrounded by a runic inscription. Of 760 bracteates unearthed before 1951 (when a study was made by Mackeprang), 128 or about one-sixth contained runes; but less than half of them make sense and many repeat each other. The dies were cut by goldsmiths who often did not understand the inscriptions and miscopied them; the ornamentation was clearly more important than the message (Krause 1966: 237-76). The inscriptions were mostly short, consisting often of certain favorite magic words intended to bring prosperity: alu luck, auja well-being, laukaR leek, laba invitation; their exact bearing is unclear, which was probably the idea (Polomé 1954). Two of the most charming and extensive bracteate inscriptions are the following: auja Alawin! auja Alawin! auja Alawin j Alawio! Hail Alawin! Hail Alawin! Hail Alawin! good year to Alawid! (Skodborg) [j is interpreted as short for jāra (good) year]. Hariūha haitika fārawīsa. Gibu auja. TTT! Hariuha is my name, the knower of dangerous things. I give luck. TīwaR, TīwaR, TiwaR! (Siælland II; the appeal is to the sky-god Týr).

8.6.5. With the bracteates Danish runic production was virtually ended, not to be revived until the Viking Age. In the meanwhile the runes spread to the rest of Germania and migrated to England with the Jutes and Angles, as mentioned above. We will not be concerned with this aspect, since it offers nothing of interest to our subject. That it was secondary is clear from the scattered and fragmentary nature of the texts. The German and Frisian texts offer only about forty certain words, of which more than half are proper names (Musset 1965: 81); the only inscriptions of any interest are the Charnav (Burgundy) brooch with a futhark, and two inscriptions carrying the names of Wodan and other Gmc deities (Nordendorf, Arguel). In England the runes lived on for some centuries as a learned pastime.

On the Continent they penetrated far enough into the kingdom of the Merovingian Franks to be well known to a famous sixth-century poet, Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers. His lines contain the only known reference to the runes by a contemporary Latin writer: he urges his good friend to write him a letter, in whatever alphabet and on whatever materials, even runes on wood:

Barbara fraxineis pingatur rhuna Let the barbarian rune be painted tabellis, on ashen tablets,

quodque papyrus agit virgula plana A smooth piece of wood is as good valet. A smooth piece of wood is as good as papyrus.

(V. Fortunatus, Carmina VII, 18; ed. F. Leo, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, Berlin, 1881, vol. IV, 1, 173.)

8.7 The Runes and their Origin. Virtually all the inscriptions preserved from this early period are scratched, carved, or stamped on such durable materials as metal, bone or stone. As the quotation from Venantius Fortunatus (and other early references) suggests, however, their original and most common use was for carving on wood. This has long been suspected, in view of their angular character which, by an avoidance of horizontal and curved lines, suggests adaptation to the grain of wood. The great discoveries of new medieval inscriptions in the city of Bergen have confirmed this suspicion. It is therefore hazardous to draw firm conclusions from the admittedly scanty materials preserved from the late Gmc period. It is quite clear, however, that the runes remained purely epigraphic in character during their more than a thousand years of use. They antedated Christianity and did not die with its coming, either in England or Scandinavia; but they never (contrary to Gothic and Cyrillic writing) achieved the recognition of regular scribal use on parchment (Blomfield 1941). That was reserved for the Latin alphabet, and aside from a Danish experiment in the thirteenth century, the runes remained the letters of the unlettered down to the time of the Reformation. In modern

Fig. 2. The Older Futhark

times the alphabet has come to be called the *futhark* from the values of the first six runes (Fig. 2).

8.7.1. The word 'rune' is specifically used to designate the above letters in ON (rún f., pl. rúnar) and OE (rūn f., pl. rūna) and is attested in the runic inscriptions themselves from the fourth century on (Musset 1965: 22). The same word or others closely related are used more widely to mean 'secret, mystery, consultation, whispering' (OE rūn, OHG OS Go rūna); in this meaning the word also occurs in old Irish (rūn). There is a derived verb (OE rūnian, OHG runēn, PSc rūnjan, ON rýna) consult, whisper, still preserved in Ger raunen whisper. This etymology has been used as evidence for the basically magic character of the runes; but a distinction must be made between magic (or better: religious) uses of the letters (as reflected in the Poetic Edda) and their essentially non-magic nature. This distinction has been quite rightly insisted upon by Bæksted and supported by Musset, who notes that 'the magic obsession of many runologists is explained more by the psychology of the scholars than by the intrinsic contents of the inscriptions' (Musset 1965: 142; Bæksted 1952). Some sense of mystery has of course surrounded all alphabetic writing, particularly in societies where it was the property of a few initiates. Musset makes the interesting suggestion that the connection between runes and whispering might be due to the inaudibility of writing: both were private rather than public forms of communication.

8.7.2. That the basic purpose of the runes, as of all writing, was communication is guaranteed for us by their overall adequacy as an almost one-to-one representation of what we take to have been the segmental phonemes of PSc:

	VOWELS				CONSONANTS				
	Front spread	Central	Back round		Labial	Lingual	Velar		
High Mid Low	li M e	<b>P</b> a	∏u \$°	Obstruents  Nasals  Liquids  Sibilants  Semivowels	Pf Mm	↑t	< k X g[g] H h[x] ng[ng] r R C j		

Fig. 3. The Phonemes of the Older Futhark

One vowel has been omitted from the chart because of uncertainty about its exact value:  $\mathcal{J}$ , usually transcribed  $\langle \dot{e} \rangle$ , by Krause now  $\langle \ddot{i} \rangle$ , is said to have a value 'intermediate between i and e' (Musset 1965: 96). No such vowel is known for Gmc as late as A.D. 200, and in fact the symbol is not used in any inscription prior to A.D. 500; in Scandinavia it disappeared entirely. (For attempted explanations see F. Ranke, in Jungandreas 1935, 106; Friesen 1933a: 9; Krause 1966: 25.) The voiced obstruents probably had both stop and spirant allophones, as indicated by the brackets. The  $\langle R \rangle$  originated from Gmc z and may have changed to a palatalized sound [ř] or [ž] quite early, long before merging with r; it is normally transcribed  $\langle R \rangle$ , to distinguish it from the latter (Smirnickij 1959). The futhark does not provide for any prosodic (suprasegmental) phonemes (as length, tone, stress, juncture); in the earliest inscriptions even word division is often absent, and the writing may face either left or right. Resonants (l r n) are occasionally written with supporting vowels that were not pronounced, e.g. hrabnaR raven is written harabanaR (Smári 1928; Einarsson 1934).

8.7.3. One of the most remarkable things about the futhark is its essential unity over a rather considerable span of time and space. The approximately 125 inscriptions involved are all written in the same alphabet, with only minor variations. The futhark may have been spread in the form of alphabetic rune sticks, none of which have been preserved from this period; but in a few cases they were copied on more permanent material and so rescued for our study (Kylver, Vadstena, Grumpan, Breza, Aquincum; also the somewhat later Charnay, Lindkær, and Beuchte; see Krause 1966: 11 ff.). Everywhere the futhark has the same curious ordering, beginning with  $\langle f \rangle$ and ending (usually) with  $\langle o \rangle$ . Also contrary to the Latin alphabet, but similarly to Irish Ogham, the letters had meaningful, acronymic names, e.g. fehu cattle for  $\langle f \rangle$ , purisaR ogre for  $\langle b \rangle$  (see Fig. 8 in Chapter 9). These had the practical purpose of imprinting the phonetic values of the runes on the learner, as we see from the fact that as the sounds of the words changed, the values of the runes also changed. That the letters were also used ideographically to represent the words they initiated, often in the service of magic, is a secondary matter. (For discussion see Arntz 1944: 167-232; Jungandreas 1935; Krause 1966: 5; Musset 1965: 127.) Taken as a whole, the names reflect a world of Gmc mythical thought, though we cannot be sure that this

is more than a coincidence. Also like Ogham, the futhark is divided into sub-groups: there are three groups of eight runes each, known as ættir families (ætt f.), but probably derived from the word átta 'eight' (according to M. Olsen).

The early inscriptions are few and widely scattered, perhaps too much so to draw any firm conclusions about their original extension. However, it is significant that there is a rather high incidence of them in the approximate geographical center of their distribution, the later Danish territory from Jutland to Skåne. Of about eighteen third-century inscriptions, two-thirds are found in this area. This appears as a natural center from which the use of runes radiated north into Norway and Sweden, south and east into Germany and eventually across the channel to England. In England the futhark was expanded (by learned men) to meet new needs, but nevertheless lost out to the Latin alphabet; in Scandinavia it was simplified and succeeded in maintaining itself among the people into early modern times.

**8.7.4.** The origin of the runes is still an unresolved problem, hotly debated among scholars. We can dismiss any notion that they were invented independently of the classical alphabets of Greece and Rome, or that they were due to preclassical contacts with Semitic alphabets. The structure of the futhark as a whole as well as the majority of the symbols are of a clearly *classical* type. They reflect a deliberate attempt to provide a corresponding alphabet for Gmc.

There are three possible sets of alphabets that could have served as models, the Latin, the Greek and the North Italic. The Latin hypothesis was developed by the Dane L. F. A. Wimmer (1874) and reaffirmed by Holger Pedersen (1923): the runes are based on thirdcentury Latin capitals. The Greek hypothesis was launched by the Norwegian Sophus Bugge (1898) and developed by the Swedes Bernard Salin and Otto von Friesen (1904): the runes are based on a Greek cursive alphabet, adapted by the Goths after they reached the Black Sea. The North Italic hypothesis was proposed originally by the German Karl Weinhold (1856), considered and dismissed by later scholars until it was reaffirmed by the Norwegian Carl S. Marstrander (1928) and the Swedish Finn Magnus Hammarström (1930): the runes are based on the epigraphic alphabets of North Italy, where the Etruscans developed from Latin and Greek elements a writing of their own that shows a startling formal similarity to runic. Most recently a quite improbable hypothesis of Isaac Taylor (1879), deriving the runes directly from a Greek alphabet of the sixth century B.C., has been revived by Kabell (1967).

As between Greek and Latin it is clear that Latin has the advantage: there are at least three runes that can come only from Latin, namely PRH, while there are none that can come only from Greek. One may therefore reasonably assign to Latin those that could have come Latin for  $\[ \nearrow \]$  (A),  $\[ \nearrow \]$  (N),  $\[ \nearrow \]$  (L),  $\[ \nearrow \]$  (O),  $\[ \nearrow \]$  (U),  $\[ \nearrow \]$  (E), possibly  $\[ \searrow \]$  (J, from G),  $\[ \searrow \]$  (D). While  $\[ \searrow \]$  (G),  $\[ \searrow \]$  (R/Z) look Greek, they do not have the values of the corresponding Greek letters (chi, psi); b has the value of Greek theta, but not its shape. Then there are those that have no clear parallel in either alphabet: P(w), I(e), ∑ ⟨p⟩, □ ⟨ng⟩; conspicuously, three of these ⟨w e ng⟩ represent phonemes not found in Latin. The North Italic alphabets offer parallels for some of the 'distorted' forms, e.g. NIZ. They also provide examples of boustrophedon (bidirectional) writing, and have an epigraphic form similar to that of runic. But they fall far short of being real models of the futhark. One is led to suppose that the maker may have been one who actually had the courage and initiative to invent his own symbols. He exercised the same right as other alphabet makers to create new characters from the same graphemic elements as the old. That the Latin alphabet was his model seems unquestionable, even if it should have been transmitted by way of Northern Italy.

8.7.5. We have of course no way of knowing when or where he did his work. The account given above of the unity of the futhark and the time and distribution of the inscriptions suggests that it originated prior to A.D. 200. How much prior we cannot know; but it is hard to believe that runes could have been in use for eight centuries (as proposed by Kabell) without leaving any inscriptional traces. In any case there is as good reason as any other to believe that the futhark arose in the center of its present diffusion, southern Denmark. Arguments have been advanced for locations closer to the borders of the Roman Empire. The Greek hypothesis was based on the idea of invention among the Goths after reaching the Black Sea (which now seems too late to account for the actual inscriptions). The North Italic hypothesis implies invention by a South German tribe, e.g. the Marcomanni (though there are no inscriptions whatever from these centuries in south Germany). It is at least as probable, as urged by

the Dane Erik Moltke (1951) that they were invented in Denmark, since Gmc peoples living right on the edge of the empire would simply have adopted Greek or Latin writing, as in fact they did (e.g. in the writing of Wulfila and later of the Christianized Germans). Askeberg (1944) tried to rescue the runes for the Goths by having them invented while the Goths were still living on the Vistula; but the evidence is slender. The weight of Moltke's argument is that it accounts for the distribution of the inscriptions as well as the nature of the futhark. We must recall that much of Denmark was probably not yet occupied by the Danes. It has been suggested that the futhark was created by those mysterious Heruleans who are said to have been driven out by the Danes (Elgquist 1952). The word erilaR which appears as a name or epithet on a number of runic inscriptions may be evidence of their connection with the futhark. Bugge (1905-13: 186 ff.) suggested that erul may never have been the name of a tribe, but of a class of leaders; Magnus Olsen associated the word with the notion of runemaster and magician (Olsen 1937: 68), as an early form of the word jarl that became the title of the king's henchmen in later ages (S. Lindqvist 1963). (The root appears to be \*er-, possibly cognate with \*arvo king, ruler; the three differing suffixes -il-, -ul-, -lare ablaut variants.)

Jutland, the long-time heartland of Germania with its well-developed civilization, is a natural enough center. The Roman Iron Age was one of intense contact with Rome; it would have been strange if some knowledge of the alphabet had not reached the North along with the many artifacts of trade. The role of the Goths remains mysterious; Wulfila is traditionally supposed to have known and used the futhark in creating his own alphabet, but even this has been strongly questioned (Blomfield 1941; Arntz 1944: 117–19; Marchand 1959a, 1959b; Musset 1965: 83). There have also been claims for some vague connection with the contemporaneous Irish Ogham alphabet, but these should probably be resisted (Musset 1965: 167–79). According to the later Icelandic literary sources, the runes were invented by Odin and given to mankind by him; perhaps this is as good a theory as any (Dumézil 1959: 40–6).

8.8 The Runic Language. The language of the oldest runic inscriptions (before 550-600), which we here call Runic to avoid commitment on its exact status, is traditionally known as *urnordisk* (from German

Urnordisch). We here translate this term as Proto-Scandinavian (PSc); others have called it Primitive Scandinavian or Proto-Norse. We suggest that the term PSc should be reserved for the reconstructed late NGmc (or NWGmc) which is the ancestor of the later Sc languages. It is not at all certain that these two-PSc and Runicare identical. Kuhn has maintained that there is no form in Runic that 'could not be the ancestor of any WGmc form' (Kuhn 1955: 45). We recall that many of the oldest inscriptions are bunched in Jutland and adjacent islands where Angles, Jutes and Heruleans lived until well into the period of the inscriptions. Krause has characterized Runic as 'a Common Proto-Scandinavian forged by the Heruleans' (Krause 1966: 39). Makaev has called it 'a special Runic koine, the first supradialectal literary variant in the history of the Gmc languages', created by 'that linguistic community which included all of late Gmc after the separation of Gothic' (Makaev 1962: 122). Antonsen maintains that such hypothetical constructions are needless and that Runic should simply be regarded as NWGmc as this was spoken in the third century A.D. (Antonsen 1965: 36).

A quick sketch of the language found in the inscriptions may throw some light on the subject.

**8.8.1.** The phonology is still very close to late NWGmc and shows few changes (for the values of the characters see above 8.7). Gmc  $\bar{e}_1 > \bar{a}$  as in  $f\bar{a}rauisa$  (ON  $f\acute{a}r$  danger),  $Frawar\bar{a}daR$  (ON  $r\acute{a}\eth$  advice), as also in WGmc, but not in Go (and some OE dialects). Short e has been raised to i in some words, e.g.  $Fin(n)\bar{o}$  (ON Finna), uywinaR (ON vinr friend), eu similarly to iu, e.g.  $fin(n)\bar{o}$  (ON finna). Short eu has been lowered to eu, in part by eu-umlaut, e.g. fin(n) down horn) vs. fin(n) (ON fin(n)) vs. fin(n) (ON fin(n)). The loss of unstressed vowels is less than in other Gmc dialects; other noteworthy changes are a trend towards fin(n) fin(n) fin(n) vower fin(n)

Otherwise the inscriptions show none of the characteristically Sc changes, such as the loss of initial j and w, medial h, and final n, or the assimilations of lp and np to ll and nn to tt, or of voiceless spirants (e.g. f and p) to voiced environments. Even if we cannot be sure of the phonetic quality of R, the fact that it is consistently distinguished from s and r is itself a conservative trait.

**8.8.2.** The *morphology* is fragmentary, but the preservation of Gmc stem vowels in unstressed syllables (unique in Gmc writing) enables

us to discern parts of several declensions. Nouns are illustrated by the examples on the following page, most of which are unique.

Adjectives are practically limited to the nominative, e.g. m. sg. slagin-aR, haitin-aR, f. sg. liub-u, m. pl.  $arj\bar{o}st-\bar{e}R$  (which may be a NGmc innovation), f. pl.  $prij-\bar{o}R$ , weak m. sg.  $f\bar{a}rau\bar{i}s-a$ ; the only other case is the accusative f. pl.  $ragina-ku(n)d-\bar{o}$ . The pronouns represented are 1. p. sg. ek (as enclitic -eka), 1. p. sg. dat.  $m\bar{e}R$ , 1. p. poss. sg. f.  $m\bar{i}n-u$ , 1. p. poss. sg. m. acc.  $m\bar{i}n-in\bar{o}$ , the demonstratives m. sg. nom. sa, n. sg. nom. bat, and m. sg. acc. hino.

Verbs appear only in the first and third persons:

	Present	Indicative	Preterite I	ndicative	Present Subjunctive		
	1. p. sg.	3. p. sg.	1. p. sg.	3. p. sg.	3. p. sg.	3. p. pl.	
STRONG	w[a]rīt-u gib-u hait-ē	b[a]riut-iþ (e)s	unnam was				
Weak	wīg-j-u fāh-i		taw-id-ö faih-id-ō wor[a]h-t-ō	taw-id-ē wur-t-ē	wāt-ē	hwāt-in?	

Infinitive: prawij-an; perf. part. hait-in-aR, slag-in-aR.

- **8.8.3.** The Syntax is also fragmentary, but it points to a state of considerably greater freedom of word order than later Gmc languages, an inheritance from PGmc. The rule of 'verb in second place' is still not fully established, though it is probably the most common pattern (SVO: subject-verb-object). The verb appears initially (VOS), as in Wurte  $r\bar{u}n\bar{o}R$  an walhakurnē HelmaR Kunimu[n]diu HelmaR made runes on the foreign grain [= gold] for Kunimund (Tjurkö 1). The verb also appears finally (SOV) as in the Gallehus inscription (above 8.6.2), on the Tune stone (above 8.6.3), the Einang and the Järsberg stones (below 8.9 d, h). Some of the deviations could be due to the often poetic and formulaic nature of the inscriptions.
- 8.8.4. The vocabulary is of course highly restricted. The c. 125 inscriptions dated (by Krause) prior to A.D. 600 within present-day Scandinavia yield only 297 words of text, containing 179 different lexical items: 76 proper names, 47 nouns, 24 verbs, 13 adjectives, 6 pronouns, 4 adverbs, 2 prepositions, 7 miscellaneous. Six inscriptions have the futhark itself as their main content. The words are all of Gmc origin, except possibly walha foreign (from Lat and Celt Volcae, cf Eng Welsh). A favorite word of mysterious import is alu, possibly the ancestor of ON ol ale (Polomé 1954), which is of course

Stem	Gender		Singular			Plural			
Class	Gender	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat. Gen.	
STRONG									
(j)a	m.	eril-a-R lauk-a-R	stain-a māk-i-a	hāh-a-i Wōdurīd-ē	Gōdag-a-s	stain-ā-R	stab-ā	-bor-umR	
	n.	hlaiw-a	horn-a arb-i-ja	walhakurn-ē		•			
ō	f.	birgng-u laþ-u					$rar{u}n$ - $ar{o}(R)$		
i	m.	-gast-i-R þal-i-R	hal-i		ungwin-āR			gest-umR (dat.)	
u	m.	war-u-R	mag-u	Kunimu(n)d-iu					
Weak									
(j)an	m.	Wiwil-ā gudi-jā		wita(n)da- halaib-a-n	Кер-а-п			arbi-jā-nō (gen.)	
$(j)$ $\bar{o}n$	f.	tal(g)i-jō Leþr-ō		3	Igi-jō-n				
Minor									
r	f.	swest-a-r				dohtr-iR			

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well known in all the later Gmc languages. There are a number of words in Runic that have no descendants in later Sc, but which are known in the other Gmc languages, e.g. hlaiwidō I buried (Go hlaiw, OE hlāw, OS OHG hlēo grave), tawidō I made (Go taujan, OE togean, OHG zouwen). The proper names, which make up the largest group of words, have only a handful of descendants in later Sc, the chief ones being Finnō (Berga), StainawarijaR (Rö), UuigaR (Väsby), Wandarādas (Sauda), if these are identical with ON Finna, Steinarr, Vigr and Vandráðr. But a total of seventeen are found in other Gmc languages, e.g. Agilamundon (Rosseland), Alawid (Skodborg), FrawaradaR (Möjbro), SaligastiR (Berga), if these are identical with OE Ægelmund, OHG Alwid, OHG Frorat and OLF Saligast (I. Lindquist NoKu 7.5–21; Janzén, ibid. 25–7; Krause 1966: 273; see esp. Janzén 1954).

We conclude that this language was only mildly Sc; it was still part of a NWGmc unity, which would soon be broken for good.

**8.9 Texts.** These are chosen to illustrate the awareness of their carvers concerning the art of writing. Under each rune of the inscription appears a transliteration in Roman letters, followed by a 'normalized' transcription and a translation. In parentheses there is information about the name of the inscription, the material, the date and the number in Krause's collection. See texts (a) and (b) above.

(c) Denmark 1:



B | M P P R | P T T P N | M F | b i d a w a r i j a R t a l g i d a i

BiðawarijaR talgiðē [rūnōR]. BiðawarijaR carved [the runes].

(Nøvling, silver fibula, c. A.D. 200; Krause 13a.)

(d) Norway 1:

# MI WILLIAMINE

XMIHI 1421∏AYI↑? 1? 1M odihiafonur Ritşagad...

[Ek Go]ðagastiR rūnō faihidō. [I, Go]dagastiR, drew the rune. (Einang, boulder, A.D. 350-400; Krause 63; tracing here by Aslak Liestøl.)

(e) Norway 2:



Inblaxey? < PF<RFY: name PRFIAF
i u b i n g a R / e k w a k r a R: u n n a m / w r a i t a
IubingaR. Ek WakraR unnam wraita.
IubingaR [here]. I, WakraR, have learned to carve [runes].
(Reistad, boulder, A.D. 450-500; Krause 74.)

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#### (f) Sweden 1:

↑ΠΡΕΥΠΡΕ.ΨΠ ÞFR < X P: luwatuwa.fuþarkgw: N ↑ IS 1 K Y S: ↑ BMM ↑ Φ X M: hnijép R s: t bem l η o d:

(magic word, followed by futhark divided into families)

(Vadstena, bracteate, A.D. 500-50; Krause 2. The runes are reversed on the inscription, but have here been transcribed in left-right order.)



#### (g) Sweden 2:



RN+&PFH|RFX|+FYNM&↑&\* N'F N+F b&N:
runofahiraginakudotojeka/unaþou:
≤NHNRFH:≤N≤IMHP4↓| I HFYNb&
suhurah:susiehwatin/hakuþo

Rūnō fāhi, raginakundō. Tōj-eka unaþu. Suhurah, susie. Hwatin Haukoþu!

A rune I draw, of divine origin. I prepare peace (for the dead?). Suhurah, susie. May they (the runes?) strengthen Haukoður!

(Noleby, boulder, A.D. 600; Krause 67.)

1018C73

#### (h) Sweden 3:



### TIAMYMRING L. RN+XYPA tiaĥ e k êrila R / runo R w a AITNNBG LHITMHEREBELE rituuba R hite: ĥa raban aR

Ek erilaR UbaR h[a]itē. HrabnaR hait[ē]. RūnōR writu.

I, the *erilaR* [rune-master?], am named Ubar. I am named HrabnaR. [I] carve runes.

(Järsberg, granite monument, A.D. 500–50; Krause 70; reordering here on basis of the reversal of runes.)

#### References

8.1 The Coming of the Indo-Europeans. The old survey by Shetelig and Falk (1937) is still useful; see now also Klindt-Jensen (1957) on Denmark, Stenberger (1962) on Sweden, Hagen (1967) on Norway and Kivikoski (1967) on Finland. An interesting attempt to correlate archaeological evidence with linguistic on the home of the Indo-Europeans is Hencken (1955); in a private communication the author reports that he is now more inclined to favor southern Russia over the Balkans. For a variety of views see the anthology edited by A. Scherer (1968).

8.2 The Germanic Tribes. Moser (1951) and Schwarz (1951, 1956) are among those who have attempted to establish the origin and spread of the Gmc peoples. The Heruleans (Heruli) have been exhaustively studied by Elgquist (1952).

8.3 Germanic. Standard works on Gmc grammar are Streitberg (1896) and Prokosch (1939). The most compact recent introduction is the three-volume grammar in the Sammlung Göschen by Hans Krahe (vol. 1: Einleitung und Lautlehre, 6. ed. 1966; 2: Formenlehre, 5. ed. 1965; 3: Wortbildungslehre, with W. Meid, 1967). The four-volume Russian Sravnitel'naja grammatika germanskix jazykov (Moscow 1962-6) is not yet available in a western language; see review by Kufner (1963).

8.4 The Great Migrations. For readable accounts of Germanic life in this

period see Thompson (1965, 1966). A standard work is Brøndsted (1938-40); more speculative is Elgquist's study of the Nerthus cult (1952).

- 8.5 The Break-up of Germanic. Attempts by German scholars to break new ground in this area are Maurer (1942) and Schwarz (1951). More recently, the Russian Žirmunskij [Schirmunskij (1961, Ger. tr. 1965), the Americans Antonsen (1965) and Voyles (1968) and the Icelander H. Benediktsson (1967) have offered stimulating new views. For the history of German see Bach (8. ed. 1965), W. Schmidt et al. (1969) and Priebsch and Collinson (1934).
- 8.6 The Earliest Writings. A complete corpus of inscriptions in the older futhark is Krause and Jankuhn (1966). This also includes photographs and detailed interpretations of each inscription, with bibliography. The dating of the older inscriptions has been questioned by K. M. Nielsen (1970).
- 8.7 The Runes and their Origin. There are several introductions to runology, Musset (1965) in French (now probably the best), Makaev (1965) in Russian, Düwel (1968) in German, Elliott (1959) in English (not satisfactory for the Sc runes). Arntz (1944) is to be eschewed; while Friesen's volume in Nordisk Kultur (1933c) is useful, its conclusions are no longer accepted.
- 8.8 The Runic Language. A. Johannesson (1923) is still useful, but is outdated by later finds and interpretations. Krause (1937) included a grammatical survey (pp. 656-69). Noreen (1904, 1923) can also be consulted. See now Krause (1971), too late for this book; likewise E. H. Antonsen, A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions (Tübingen 1975).

## Chapter 9

## Ancient Scandinavia (550–1050): Common Scandinavian

9.1 From Tribes to Kingdoms. The sixth century takes Scandinavia out of the anonymity of archeology into the halflight of legendary history. Heroic tales and poems are preserved that may strain our credulity, but when properly sifted do yield some grains of historical truth. We have already alluded to the famous epic poem of early England, Beowulf, the matter of which is almost entirely Scandinavian. The English cleric who composed Beowulf around A.D. 700 knew a surprising amount about the royal houses of Scandinavia in the sixth century and the conflicts that raged within them. Thanks to a reference by Gregory of Tours, we can date one event mentioned in Beowulf to A.D. 516, which may therefore be considered the first firm date in Scandinavian history. The reference is to an early viking-type raid on the Frisian coast by one Hygelac, king of the Geats, i.e. the Gautar mentioned above. His name in later ON would have been Hugleikr, from \*Hugilaikaz; Gregory calls him Chochilaicus, which shows that the longer form was still current. The world of Beowulf is rarely as precise as this, being mostly peopled with trolls and heroes; but through the dim haze of legend it is easy to perceive that in this period rivalry was emerging between such major tribal groupings as the Danes, the Geats and the Swedes (Klaeber 1922: xxix-xlviii; Nerman 1925: 57-136; Wessén 1927). Another OE poem, the Widsið or Far-traveller (possibly from 600), also reveals close familiarity with the Nordic peoples: 'Ic was . . . mid Sweom ond mid Geatum ond mid Sub-Denum' (Chambers 1912).

9.1.1. At the end of the Germanic migrations Scandinavia was still an area in which all organization of power was local and tribal. The rest of northwestern Europe was being reorganized by the Germanic successors of the Roman empire, primarily by the Frankish kings of

the Merovingian family. On a smaller scale the same kind of thing was going on within Scandinavia. The casual testimony of Jordanes (c. 550) and Procopius (c. 554) tells us that there were many small peoples, each with its own 'king', and the legendary history is full of tales about the efforts of these kings to extend their domain at one another's expense. Archeology and place-name studies confirm the impression that population was expanding into newly settled areas, that trade and handicrafts were flourishing and that intertribal war was the order of the day. Royal dynasties like the Skjoldungs (OE Scyldingas) in Denmark and the Ynglings in Sweden and Norway figure as main actors in the drama that led to the founding of the Scandinavian states (Kendrick 1930: 78–116).

The geography of Norden made the sea routes primary links between peoples, and it is not surprising that three separate centers of power grew up—a southern one that would become Denmark, a Baltic one that would be Sweden and an Atlantic one that would be Norway (Askeberg 1944: 17-18). The Danish kings sat astride the approaches to the Baltic, where they managed to weld together a kingdom stretching from Jutland to Scania (Maps 6, 8). Their southern border was not seriously threatened until Charlemagne extended his Frankish power over the Saxons of northwest Germany at the end of the eighth century. In 810 the Danish king Godfred found it expedient to throw up an earthwork across the foot of the Jutland peninsula (the later 'Danevirke') to protect his territories. At the same time the Danes made every effort to assert dominion over their Nordic neighbors, with only temporary successes; in the long run they were unable to overcome the Swedish and Norwegian dynasties.

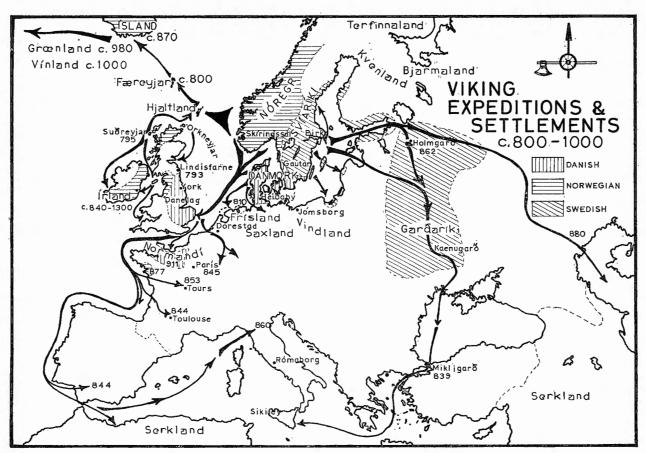
The Swedes were powerfully entrenched in the region around Lake Mälar, where the soil was fruitful and access easy; even Tacitus (A.D. 98) tells of the Suiones that they are 'distinguished not merely for their arms and men, but for their powerful fleets'. From Beowulf and the Norwegian genealogical poem Ynglingatal (end of ninth century) one can conclude that the Swedes succeeded in downing the Götar (OE Geatas) in the sixth century. Soon after this they also established dominion over Gotland and other parts of present-day Sweden, except for the Danish-dominated tip of the peninsula; they also developed extensive influence and some settlements across the Baltic (Askeberg 1944: 10–12). According to Ynglingatal one branch

of the Swedish royal family migrated to eastern Norway and there established a separate, Norwegian dominion in what is now the Oslo fiord. Large funeral barrows (Gokstad, Oseberg, Tune) from which viking ships have been excavated testify to the power of this first Norwegian dynasty, While Denmark and Sweden are named after the tribes that formed their nuclei, Norway is named for its location: its chief characteristic was that it was the seaway to the North. In this period most of the power was concentrated in the fjords of the west coast, where navigation was best and access to foreign wealth most ready. The kingdom of Norway came into being (traditionally in 872) when King Harald Fairhair (hárfagri) of the Oslo region succeeded in defeating the kings of western Norway and thereby bridged the east and west.

9.1.2. This inner consolidation of Scandinavia, which is the main historical feature of the period, was a necessary precondition for the dramatic emergence of her peoples on the stage of world history in the eighth century A.D. It is customary to set off the Viking Age (800-1050) as a separate period, chiefly because of its external significance, but there is nothing in the internal history or the linguistic development of Scandinavia to justify it. The viking raids on Great Britain, France and other countries were only a symptom of the growing concentration of power within Scandinavia. Step by step the peoples of Norden were being organized into effective political and military groupings, which established order within these countries and gave them a sufficient surplus of power to turn against their neighbors. The viking expeditions included many kinds of operations, from peaceful voyages of trading and settlement to piratical raids on defenseless towns and monasteries; at their height they even led to the establishment of Nordic rulers on foreign territory, as dukes of Normandy, kings of Dublin, and most famous of all, as Danish kings of England. The whole viking period should be viewed as explorations in the extension of power, based on the use of a new weapon, the viking ship. The period ended when the limits of expansion had been reached: the Christian nations strengthened their defenses and at the same time offered the Scandinavian kings membership in the club by adopting them as fellow Christians (Kendrick 1930: 102, 135-8).

9.1.3. There is no need of recounting here the details of the viking raids; excellent accounts are available (Brøndsted 1965; Kendrick 1930). For our purposes the most important result was the establishment of new linguistic colonies, in which Scandinavian dominance was reflected for a period of time. Scandinavian speech was now common on the eastern shores of the Baltic from Finland to Lithuania and well into Russia, where Swedish princes called 'Rus' established the first governments. Danish and Norwegian conquerors spoke Sc in Normandy and in the English Danelaw, while Norwegians swarmed over the islands north and west of Britain (Shetland, Orkneys, Hebrides, Faroes, Man, Iceland, Greenland) as well as parts of Scotland and Ireland (Map 6). Briefly (around A.D. 1000) they even had a toehold on the North American continent (Vinland). Most of this expansion was temporary because the rulers were few in proportion to the population. East of the Baltic Sc survived only along the coasts of Finland and Estonia. In Normandy Sc can hardly have lasted more than a generation or two, while in England it probably survived for some centuries (Ekwall 1930). On the off-shore islands of Britain Sc survived in some places into the eighteenth century, under the name of Norn (Skautrup 1. 95-7). Only in the Faroes and in Iceland, which remained under Scandinavian sovereignty, did it survive down to the present; it would have done so in Greenland also if the population had not died out in the early fifteenth century. In all the countries where Sc dominated for a time, the languages show traces of its influence in the form of loanwords, reflecting the nature of the contact between the languages and also offering information about the state of Sc at that particular time.

9.1.4. The language of this period is what we are here calling Common Scandinavian (CSc), including the transition from PSc and NGmc. Before the end of the period begins that gradual splitting into East and West Scandinavian which we shall consider in the next chapter. As we shall see, ESc is not so much a distinct dialect as the sum of certain innovations that encompassed Denmark and the greater part of Sweden, with some adjacent parts of Norway, at the end of the Viking Age. The importance of Denmark as the mainstay of Scandinavia and the source of innovations is confirmed by the name given to the CSc language, donsk tunga 'Danish tongue', well into the Middle Ages, even in Iceland. The development of separate languages was still in the future. The first Christian kings were wrestling with basic problems of maintaining their own power. The old era came to a close and a new era opened with the conversion of these kings to Christianity—Harald Gormsson of Denmark in 965,



Map 6

Olaf Tryggvason of Norway before 995, Olof Skotkonung of Sweden about 1008. From the Continent Christian influence even extended over the sea to the free republics of Iceland and Greenland, where King Olaf's missionaries established the new faith in the year 1000.

9.2 Written sources. Throughout this period there are still no native manuscripts, and we are therefore forced to rely on the evidence of names or words cited in *foreign texts*, *loanwords* in other languages, *place-names* datable to this period, and *inscriptions*, chiefly runic. Skaldic and Eddic *poetry* are richer sources, but were not written down in this period. To the extent that present-day dialects can be shown to reflect linguistic features from this period, modern *dialect geography* can also furnish some indirect evidence. While information is fuller than in the preceding period, it is still too scanty to follow local and temporal variations in any detail.

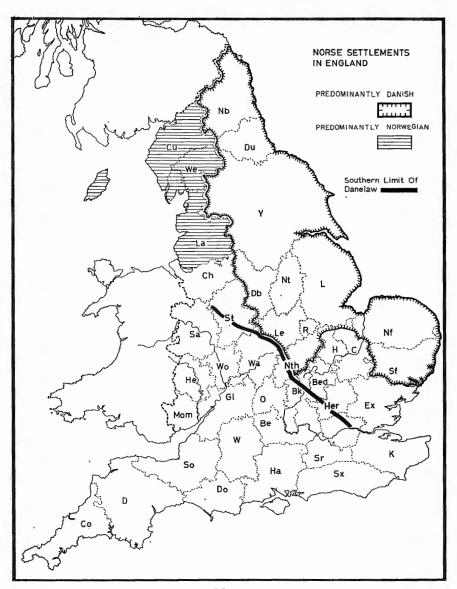
9.2.1. Among the foreign texts that bear on Scandinavia we have already mentioned the OE poems Widsið and Beowulf, in which anglicized forms of Sc names appear (mostly in the dat. pl.): Geatum (ON Gautum), Swēon (ODa -swēaR), Denum (ODa Danum), prowendum (PSc prowindum > CSc prondum), Eotena (ODa \* Jutna), (Heapo-) Rēamum (ON Raumum), etc. The forms offer few problems of identification, contrary to the Latinized (respectively Hellenized) forms of Sc names in Jordanes or Procopius. Other casual references occur in Gregory of Tours (d. 594), Isidor of Seville (d. 636), and Paulus Diaconus (c. 725-95), historian of the Langebards. Late in the ninth century King Alfred the Great translated Orosius' History of the World (ed. Sweet 1883) into English. In this work he interpolated two travel accounts relating to Scandinavia, narrated to him by Wulfstan and Ohthere; the former had been in the Baltic, the second in Norway (where he had his home; in ON his name would have been Ottarr, from \*õhta-hariR). In this account the names of Norway and Denmark appear for the first time in writing, Norway as Noroweg (ON Nóregr) and Noromanna land (land of the Norwegians; ON noromanna land), Denmark as Denemearc (ON Danmork, cf runic tanmarkaR gen. sg. Jelling 1, c. A.D. 935). The first really exhaustive and reliable report on Scandinavia was Adam of Bremen's Gesta Hammaburgiensis Ecclesiae Pontificum (ed. B. Schmeidler 1917), i.e. History of the Archbishopric of Hamburg (c. 1060). In this is contained among other things the earliest literary reference to the Scandinavian

discovery of America (called Winlandia, ON Vinland), based on reports of Icelanders at the court of the Danish king.

**9.2.2.** Much study has been devoted to tracing the *loanwords* and *place-names* left behind by the Scandinavian invaders of the Viking Age. In the absence of written documents they form our best index for judging the social relationships between groups. As linguistic evidence they need careful interpretation, since they have first been sifted through the structure of another language, and have then been subject to whatever changes that language has undergone. The East Vikings left only a handful of words in Slavic. The West Vikings had a much deeper influence on Celtic, particularly on place-names.

In Norman (and French generally) the deposit in the vocabulary and place-names is noticeable, but not overwhelming; the latest comprehensive treatment has found close to 300 items (Gorog 1958), a large proportion of which relate to the sea, e.g. babord (ON bakborði) larboard, matelot (ODa \*matunautr) sailor. The deepest and most enduring impact of CSc was on (Middle) English, where contacts were both intimate and long-lasting. OE and CSc were closely related and probably mutually intelligible; it is often hard to tell whether a given word is from one or the other language. There are hundreds of place-names of the types Derby, Coningsthorpe, Nortoft, Harrogate, Thingwall. There are many terms relating to government, such as law, bylaw, outlaw, ransack, riding; but there are also basic words like give, get, take, scrape, scrub, hit, die, call; booth, frost, sky, kid, bloom; ill, loose, odd, scant, wrong; and most remarkably, the pronouns they and same. In the northern counties of England that were part of the Danelaw, and in Scotland, there are areas where the place-names are predominantly Sc (Map 7); there are also many personal and family names of Sc origin here, as well as the custom of giving names in -son.

9.2.3. Sc place-names have been made to yield a rich harvest of information concerning the early language and history of Scandinavia (M. Olsen 1939). This is particularly true of the composite names, which show characteristic distributions corresponding to the period of their creation (often correlated with social and economic conditions). Names in -heim home, -inge descendants, -stapir place are pre-Sc, shared with other Gmc peoples; other early suffixes are -win meadow (mostly Nw), -tūn(a) enclosure (mostly Sw), -lev property (mostly Da), -løse meadow? (Da and Sw). From the CSc period



Map 7

come names in -by farm, and -toft(e) site (common in the Danelaw also), -akr field, -land land, -setr dwelling. Beginning in the ninth century, there was much clearing of land, which is particularly characterized by names in -porp cleared farm (in later Sc and in northern Germany often reduced to -drup or -rup); other suffixes from the Viking Age are -holt woods, -rud/-ryd clearing, -pueit clearing. The individual enterprise associated with these last names is reflected in the fact that most of them are compounded with personal names (Skautrup 1.114-18). Such place-names were often transferred to the Sc settlements in Great Britain and the western isles as well. For examples and more details see below (9.5.7).

- 9.2.4. Runic inscriptions continue to be made, but with some striking new developments in this period. From 600 to 800 there are no Danish inscriptions at all, but Norway and Sweden furnish some very important ones, though they are few in number. From Norway come the Setre comb, the Eggjum (sometimes called Eggja) stone, and the Strand fibula, which are difficult to interpret, but clearly magical in content. In Blekinge, a border province between Denmark and Sweden, there is a remarkable group of stones from the seventh century known as Gummarp, Istaby, Stentoften and Björketorp, inscribed with an eerie combination of chant-like obituaries and ritualistic curses. Four Swedish stones from the eighth century (Rävsal, Roes, Sölvesborg, Ellestad) complete the roster of inscriptions in the older futhark.
- 9.2.5. Around 800 a revival of runic writing burst forth in Denmark, perhaps inspired by the Blekinge stones. During the Viking Period Denmark becomes the center of runic epigraphy, but now in a new alphabet, the 'younger' futhark. This is a futhark reduced from twenty-four to sixteen symbols, clearly based on the old runes, many of them simplified in form as well. There are 412 Danish inscriptions, of which 240 are on stones, most of them erected by wealthy families to commemorate their dead. The runes are decoratively arranged in vertical bands, sometimes with added figures and ornamentation, a custom that could have been inspired by Christian practices. It continues into the Christian period and does not cease in Denmark until about 1350. The most renowned inscriptions, those on the two Jelling stones, can be dated to the tenth century by their own testimony: they were erected by the Danish kings Gorm (c. 935) and his son Harald (c. 985) as commemorations which are also self-glorifications.

Other stones are typologically dated by Danish runologists as earlier than, contemporaneous with, or later than the Jelling stones (Skautrup 1. 106–11; Jacobsen and Moltke 1013–42). The content of most inscriptions is relatively stereotyped: 'N. made this monument after O. his father (son, brother, friend) who was the best of men.' Some give more explicit information, reporting occasionally on the travels or exploits of the deceased, and a few are in poetic form.

9.2.6. The new futhark reached Norway around 800, but only about a dozen inscriptions are preserved from the period down to 950, including two in wood from the Oseberg ship. The earliest memorial inscriptions in stone are from the Isle of Man (930-1000), where a group of nearly thirty Christian crosses (of Irish type) bear runic epitaphs (Elliott 1959: 40). All in all there are something over 100 Norse inscriptions in the British Isles (5 in Shetland, 32 in the Orkneys, 9 in the Hebrides, 6 in Scotland, 5 in Ireland, 32 in Man, 13 in England) from the Viking Age and after (M. Olsen 1954; Musset 1965: 290). Runic writing also flourished in Greenland (30-odd inscriptions) and the Faroes (3), but in Iceland it was surprisingly sparse and late (53, all after 1200). Farthest north and west of all authentic inscriptions is the mysterious Kingiktorssuaq stone at 72° 55' N on the Greenland coast. Late in the tenth century the custom of raising memorial stones became common in Norway also, particularly in Jæren (SW Norway); and from the period 990-1050 there are several highly ornamented stones from SE Norway (Alstad, Dynna, Vang) (M. Olsen, NoKu 6. 83-113).

9.2.7. Sweden, however, became the great home of runic carving in the younger futhark, with more than 2,500 preserved inscriptions. Of these some 2,000 were carved before A.D. 1100 (Friesen 1933b). The early Viking Age is rather sparsely represented; but in it are found two of Sweden's most remarkable monuments, the Rök stone in Östergötland and the Sparlösa stone in Västergötland (both c. A.D. 800). The latter is noted for its decorations, the former for its inscription, which is the longest (over 700 runes) and most complex in runic carving. It is a memorial erected by a father to his dead son, alternating between rhythmic prose and alliterative poetry, with allusions to lost legends and poems; in some parts the inscription is carved in coded runes, which complicates its decipherment (S. Jansson 1963: 32-40; Kabell 1964; N. Å. Nielsen 1969). The fashion

of highly ornamented memorial stones (some even erected by the honoree himself!) grew to unsuspected heights in the eleventh century, above all in the central district of Uppland, where nearly half the stones are found; any visitor to Sweden can admire them as a decorative feature of the landscape to this day. They testify to the wealth and power of the leading families, and at the same time often give valuable information about the fates of those who fell abroad, for example, on viking expeditions (S. Jansson 1966).

- 9.2.8. The fragments of poetry found on the runic monuments are parts of a rich poetic tradition that is more fully represented in the Old Icelandic manuscripts beginning in the twelfth century. Scattered in the prose narratives and treatises like Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla and Prose Edda are numerous poems of the type called skaldic, because they were composed by named skalds or bards, dating from about 800 on (Bragi the Old is the first) in Norway, and after 900 in Iceland also. Skaldic poems were so tightly constructed in their metrical and lexical form that they were less exposed to 'modernization' by the scribes. Their testimony has therefore been used extensively as evidence for the language of the ninth and tenth centuries, when they were probably already archaic in style. Less certain linguistically is the use of the other great body of ON poetry, that of the Poetic Edda, composed by anonymous poets and datable only by internal criteria. Some eddic poetry may go back before 800 and some may be later than 1050. The contents are precious for the insights they give into Nordic and Germanic mythology, but the metrical form (which continues the Germanic epic line, but imposes stanzaic form on it) is too loose to withstand scribal alterations. Its testimony must therefore be taken with caution.
- 9.3 The Younger Futhark. Between 550 and 750 the futhark began to reflect the changes that were going on in the language in what is sometimes called 'the syncope period', in reference to the loss of unstressed vowels that characterizes CSc in relation to PSc. Such inscriptions as the above-mentioned Blekinge stones, the Eggjum stone, the Setre comb, and the later Danish Helnæs-Gørlev group form transitions between the old 24-rune futhark and the new 16-rune futhark that came into being as a peculiarly Sc creation.
- 9.3.1. Around 600 (Istaby) the j-rune began to be used for a (transcribed  $\langle A \rangle$ , reflecting in its name the characteristically Sc loss of

9.3.2. Late in the eighth century an unknown innovator took account of this development and established a 16-symbol futhark, apparently first used on the decorative new Danish memorial stones. For this reason it is generally assumed that the inventor was Danish, and the resulting runes are sometimes called 'Danish', although they quickly spread throughout Scandinavia and are particularly well represented on the later Swedish monuments. Each of the sixteen runes retained can be derived from one of the old runes, though some have undergone a marked change. They appear in the same order except that  $\langle R \rangle$  has been moved to the end. The initial runes of each att (above 8.7.3) have been preserved, though the number in each has been reduced (Fig. 8).

I	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10	11		12	13	14	15	16
P	n	Þ	1	R	r	:	*	7		1	Ν	:	$\uparrow$	B	4	1	工
f	u	þ	ą	r	k	:	h	n	i	a	s	:	t	b	m	1	R
Fig. 1. The Danish Runes (Garley)																	

The forms in Fig. 4 are those of the Danish Gørlev stone (c. 900), where the new futhark appears as part of the inscription. There are

transitional forms from the ninth century, e.g. Helnæs (c. 800), which preserve the older  $\langle h m \rangle$  with two vertical bars. As comparison with the forms of the older futhark will show, eleven symbols were taken over virtually without change (except that  $\langle R \rangle$  was turned upside down); these were all runes with a single vertical bar. The remaining five symbols were all reshaped on the same last:  $\langle h m \rangle$ , which had two bars, were reduced to one, while  $\langle k a s \rangle$ , which had no bar, were given one ( $\langle s \rangle$  can be regarded as having a single broken bar). All symbols were now of equal height and distinguished entirely by the shape, number and position of the crossbars. This futhark was simpler to learn and easier to carve than the old one (Wessén 1957: 6).

9.3.3. It was also less accurate in its representation of the phonemes. Several of the new runes are ambiguous:  $\langle i \rangle$  corresponds to i e,  $\langle u \rangle$  to  $u \circ y \otimes \langle a \rangle$  to  $a \otimes Q \otimes \langle b \rangle$  to  $b \circ p \otimes mb \otimes mp \otimes \langle b \rangle$  to  $b \circ k \otimes mp \otimes mp \otimes \langle b \rangle$ . There is no marking of length, so that long and short vowels, single and geminated consonants are written alike. There is some use of digraphs to represent the diphthongs as well as the umlaut vowels, e.g.  $\langle ai \rangle$  for  $ai \circ x \otimes \langle au \rangle$  for  $au \otimes Q \otimes \langle ai \rangle$  for  $ai \circ x \otimes \langle au \rangle$  for  $au \otimes Q \otimes \langle ai \rangle$  for  $ai \circ x \otimes \langle au \rangle$  for  $au \otimes Q \otimes \langle ai \rangle$ 

It is the more surprising that inscriptions in the younger futhark are relatively easy to read. This is promoted by two features: a general consistency in the writing of individual words, as pointed out by K. M. Nielsen (1960: 70), and the use of stereotyped formulas and limited vocabulary. The graphemic principle of the 'reformed' futhark can be formulated as follows: old phonemic distinctions are preserved, but new ones are disregarded, e.g. the umlaut vowels and the voiced stops. The result is a partially morphophonemic system of writing, which identifies word stems in gross terms but quite precisely specifies the morphological suffixes (in which only the vowels aiu could occur; see Haugen 1969).

If the result was at times ambiguous, this was of less importance in view of the limited content of most inscriptions; as Wessén has pointed out (1957: 6), the people of those days 'had plenty of time; there was no need for speed reading'. The change to the reduced futhark, while surprising, is not at all unsystematic.

9.3.4. The 'Danish' runes were not to remain the only form of the new futhark. In southern Sweden and Norway a somewhat different simplification of the futhark occurred on a number of inscriptions from the ninth and tenth centuries. Because of their distribution and presumed origin they are often referred to as the 'Swedish-Norwegian' runes. Other names are 'beech runes' (Wessén: bokrunor, on the theory that they were specially designed for use on wood), 'Rök runes' (Friesen: rökrunor, since their most famous inscription is the Rök inscription), or 'short-branch runes' (Bugge: die kurzzweigige Runenschrift, Sw kortkvistrunor, Nw also stuttruner, from the nature of the crossbars); by contrast the 'Danish runes' have been called 'stone runes' (stenrunor), 'normal' or 'regular' runes (normalrunor, Da almindelige runer), and 'long-branch runes' (långkvistrunor). As the name kortkvistrunor suggests, the 'Swedish-Norwegian' runes are characterized chiefly by a reduction of the crossbars to their minimally distinctive forms (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. The Rök Runes

9.3.5. In a detailed and convincing study of the graphemic system of the Rök runes, Loman has shown that it is based on 'a comparatively rational exploitation of the distinctive features of number, direction, length, and level' (Loman 1965b: 59).  $\langle a \rangle$  and  $\langle b \rangle$  were paired with two bars each,  $\langle n \rangle$  and  $\langle a \rangle$ ,  $\langle l \rangle$  and  $\langle t \rangle$  with one each, direction being the distinctive feature. The formerly complex runes  $\langle h m \rangle$  and  $\langle s R \rangle$  were reduced to minimal pairs, with level as the distinctive feature. Such deliberate simplification could not have taken place until after the establishment of left-right as the only direction of writing and the use of framing lines to show where the top and bottom of each rune could be found. It is Loman's conclusion that these runes were developed in western Sweden, probably in Bohuslän (then a Norwegian province), where the Danish runes were well known, and where there are a number of transitional inscriptions. Johnsen (1968) concurs, but finds central Sweden equally

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probable. Around the year 1000 a gifted experimenter in the Uppland region of Sweden carried the principle of reduction to its logical extreme by entirely eliminating the vertical staves of runes with distinctive sidebars (Fig. 6). This staveless (S. Jansson 1963: 29) or

Fig. 6. The Staveless Runes

'shorthand' futhark, in which the distinctive features are organized on three levels (as in Loman's analyses), did not prove popular. There are less than a dozen inscriptions in it, mostly in Hälsingland, for which reason they have been called 'Hälsing runes' (Friesen proposed to call them the 'Swedish runes').

- 9.3.6. In spite of (or because of?) their symbolic economy, neither the 'Swedish-Norwegian' nor the 'Swedish' runes became the most widely used or typical Swedish futhark. This was reserved for the long-branch Danish runes, which appear to have been imported into central Sweden along with the Danish custom of raising cenotaphs to the dead. This occurred around A.D. 1000, and by A.D. 1100 the Swedes had carved and decorated most of the surviving 2,060 inscriptions in the long-branch alphabet. Although the oldest of these are pagan in content, Friesen (1933b: 165-74) contends that the custom was of Christian origin and attributable to the missionary efforts issuing from England to Denmark and Sweden during this ebb of the Viking Age, when contacts with England were intimate. Since the elaborate ornamentation of the Swedish runestones very frequently includes a cross, there is some plausibility in this opinion. A number of inscriptions refer directly to England, e.g. Sävsjö in Småland: Urai sati stin pansi eftiR kuna brupur sin han uaR taupr a iklati Vrái set up this stone after his brother Gunne. He died in England (Friesen 1933: 179).
- 9.3.7. In Norway both the long- and the short-branch runes were known and used throughout the Viking Age (M. Olsen 1933: 83-4; 1960: 238-45). But prior to about 1000 the few preserved inscriptions show frequent mixture of two types. The Manx crosses (930-1000) display a special short-branch futhark in which the cross-bar of  $\langle h \rangle$  is only a dot, while  $\langle m \rangle$  is the long-branch rune ( $\Upsilon$ );  $\langle a \rangle$  and  $\langle b \rangle$

have their slanting bars on the left instead of the right. Around 1000 the Christian custom of memorial stones appeared in Jæren, in southwestern Norway, and brought with it a similar futhark, except that  $\langle a \mid n \mid a \mid b \rangle$  (the slant-bar runes) may all have long branches and that  $\langle h \rangle$  has the typical long-branch form (\*). In the course of the early eleventh century a special Norwegian futhark ('the older Norwegian futhark') developed, which became the basis of later usage in Norway

I	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10	11		12	13	14	15	16
7	Π	Þ	4	R	r		*	۲		1	INN		1	B	Y	1	工
$\overline{\mathbf{f}}$	u	þ	ą	r	k	:	h	n	i	a	s	:	t	b	m	1	у
				Fi	G.	7.	. 7	<i>'he</i>	Ν	oru	vegia	ın	Fut	har	k		

(Fig. 7). This futhark is an almost perfect compromise between the two other varieties: of the nine runes that differ, four ( $\langle h b m y \rangle$ ) are of 'Danish' type, four ( $\langle a n a t \rangle$ ) are of 'Swedish-Norwegian' type, and one ( $\langle s \rangle$ ) is of both. It is to be noticed that  $\langle R \rangle$  has changed its sound value to [y] because [R] merged with [r], and so the symbol could be used for the first sound in its name  $\bar{y}R$  yew (first example on the Dynna inscription, about 1040, acc. to M. Olsen, 1960: 242).

9.3.8. In the eleventh century runic writing began to develop means of representing the phonemes that had been missed in its first version. We have noted that  $\bar{y}R$  changed its value from [R] to [y]; at about the same time (a) changed its value in keeping with the change of its name ass (from \*ansuz) to oss, thereby filling the need for distinguishing [o] from [u]. This occurred at about the same time (mid century) in all Scandinavia. A more deliberate approach made its appearance earlier in the century, in Denmark around A.D. 1000, in the other countries soon after, viz. the practice of 'pointing' or 'dotting' the runes (Da stungne runer). It has been assumed that this practice came from England, where the Anglo-Saxon runes provided for [y] by placing a dot inside the  $\langle u \rangle$  (actually a small  $\langle i \rangle$ ). This view is rejected by Jacobsen and Moltke (DR 999), on the grounds that the Anglo-Saxon inscriptions are much older and that dotted (y) is neither the first nor the most common of the new symbols in Scandinavia. There is a dotted  $\langle h \rangle$  in some Viking Age inscriptions using the short-branch futhark, but here the dot is an abbreviated crossbar; perhaps this could have suggested the first and most common dotted rune,

Fig. 8. Development of the Futhark (750-1150)

Transliteration	Older	PSc (and Go)	ON	New	Younger runes					
[phonet.]	runes	names	names	values	Long Short branch branch	Norw. mixed	Häls. S-less	Expanded (dotted)		
f [f, b]	۴	*fehu cattle	fé		<b> </b>	<b>→</b>	T			
u	n	*ūruR shower	úr	uyoø	$\mid \cap \longrightarrow -$	$\rightarrow$	)	Рy		
þ	<b> </b>	*burisaR ogre	þurs		<b>→</b> —	$\rightarrow$	ı			
a	F	*ansuR god	áss	$\tilde{a} > o$	F , <b>k</b>	4		# ø		
r	R	*raiðu ride	reið		$R \longrightarrow -$	$\rightarrow$	(			
k	<	*kauna boil	kaun	k g ŋg	$  Y \longrightarrow -$	<b>→</b>	1	₽ g		
g [g, g]	X	*gebu gift	(gjǫf)							
w	P	*wunju joy	(*)							
h [x]	Н	*hagalaR hail	hagali		<b>  *   +, •</b>	*	1			
n	<b> </b>	*nauðiR need	nauð		-	→	•			

i		*īsaR ice	íss	i e	-	<b>→</b>	<del></del>	1	ф e
j	S>*	*jāra year	ár	j > a	1	r	1 1	^	∤ æ
ė, ī [?]	1	*īwaR yew?	(*)						
p	<b>₹</b>	*perþra (?)	(*)						
R [ř, ž]	Y	*īwaR yew	ýr	R > y	<b>X</b>	1	↓	:	
s	€, ₹	*sōwelu sun	sól		4	1	INH		
t	1	*tīwaR god	Týr	t d nd	1	1 —	<u>.</u>	1	<b>1</b> d
b [ħ, b]	₿	*berkana birch	bjarkan	bpmb	₿		8		₿p
e	M	*ehwaR horse	(jór)						
m	M	*mannaR man	maðr		ዋ, Υ	†	Y	:	
1	1	*laguR sea	lǫgr		r -	· → .—	<u>.</u> →	`	
ŋ [ŋg]		*ingwaR god	(*yng-)						
d [ð, d]	M	*dagaR day	dagr						
o	\	*ōþala possession	(óðal)						
						1			

9.4 Common Scandinavian. The pattern of innovations and retentions from Gmc which characterizes all the Sc languages and is here called Common Scandinavian (CSc) began emerging in the inscriptions of the sixth century. The term CSc (Da fællesnordisk, Sw samnordiska) is a useful abstraction for the common elements in what were no doubt both geographically and historically diverging dialects. By the end of our period the divergences became so conspicuous that we will have to speak of an East and a West Scandinavian area.

The most important changes from PSc are the phonological developments summed up under the terms syncope and umlaut; the former shortened the words and the latter restructured their phonological relationships. These changes are not peculiar to NGmc, but

the details of their workings are (Žirmunskij 1966). Syncope and umlaut, as part of the 'drift' of Gmc, are not entirely unconnected, since one can see them as a transfer of information from the syncopated vowels of the suffixes to the more complex umlaut vowels of the roots. The root vowels took over some of the functions previously performed by grammatical suffixes in what has been called a 'code shift' (Sigurd 1961) that reorganized both the morphology and the phonology.

Only a few of the changes can actually be followed in the written sources, which are both scanty and inadequately spelled. We shall therefore resort to considerable reconstruction, presenting such hypothetical forms without asterisks under the label of CSc.

9.4.1. The phonology is characterized by (1) syncope of weak syllables and restriction of their vowel inventory, (2) development of a more complex vowel system in stressed syllables, (3) extensive vowel assimilations and (4) reorganization of the consonant system. The continued presence of *initial stress* as a 'forward peak of energy' (Brosnahan and Turner 1958) tended to concentrate attention on the information value of the first syllable. In PSc diphthongs and long vowels and all vowel qualities could still occur in any syllable, but in CSc the syllables with weak stress were limited to the three short vowels a i u. The second members of compounds as well as derivational suffixes like -and-, -il-, -ing- bore secondary stress. The nature of pitch in PSc and CSc is uncertain, but it is probable that stressed syllables had a high pitch and that unstressed long (and diphthongal) vowels (and those followed by a consonant) had a non-distinctive tonal accent that survived in later Sc as the so-called 'Accent 2' (Kock 1901; Oftedal 1952).

## (1) Unstressed Vowels

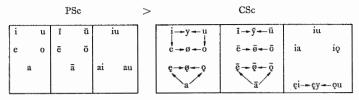
- (a) Contraction: ai au iu  $> \bar{e} \ \bar{o} \ \bar{i}$  (kurnai  $> kurn\bar{e}$  corn dat. sg.; sunau  $R > sun\bar{o}R$  son gen. sg.; magiu  $> mag\bar{i}$  son dat. sg.)
- (b) Elision: all short vowels disappear unless protected by final mnr or secondary stress (horna > horn horn; dagaR > dagR day nom. sg.; dagan > daga days acc. pl.; katilaR > katilR kettle;  $katil\bar{o}R > katlaR$  kettles).
- (c) Shortening: long  $\dot{V} >$  short V (kurn $\bar{e} >$  kurne corn dat. sg., magi > magi son dat. sg.).
  - (d) Merger: shortened  $\bar{a} > e$  while  $\bar{o}$  (when not nasalized) > a,

after which front vowels > i and back vowels > u (probably with lowered qualities, ab. [I U]).



(2) Stressed Vowels. Concomitant with the reduction of unstressed vowel qualities, new vowels arose in the stressed syllables, raising the number of monophthongs from ten to eighteen and diphthongs from three to six. The new vowels were the result of anticipatory assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable. At first the new vowels were only positional variants (allophones) of the old and did not call for being marked in writing. Even after the umlaut-causing vowels had in part disappeared (by (1) above) around 700, the grammatical alternations of the old with the new vowels kept alive the sense of their relationship, so that the writers of the younger futhark rarely felt any need of marking them as different: (manR) can designate mannR man as well as mennR men. A spelling like  $b^a rutR$  Björketorp for expected bariutR breaks is taken to mean that iu had already become  $\bar{y}$  as in later ON brýtr. The chronology of the new vowels is therefore largely speculative and based on internal ordering. Many of the allophones were probably present already in NWGmc (NGmc and WGmc share them), but their lexical and geographical distribution in the later dialects show many differences.

Each of the extremities of the vowel triangle has influenced the stressed vowels, giving rise to a-umlaut, i-umlaut, and u-umlaut,



Down arrows: a-umlaut; left-hand arrows: i-umlaut; right-hand arrows: u-umlaut.

probably in that order. A-umlaut (= lowering) is NWGmc and partly obscured in CSc; i-umlaut (= fronting) is active in CSc, but with some dialectal variation; u-umlaut (= rounding) is limited to

NGmc (though there are somewhat similar changes in OE and elsewhere), and shows great dialectal variation. The other major innovation is breaking, which affects only the vowel e > ia,  $i\varrho$ , but with very complex distribution; it is peculiar to NGmc (unless the OE dialectal breaking is taken to be the same thing).

- horna horn). This accounts for the alternation in a paradigm like ON sonr (from sunaR) son vs. synir (from suniR) sons.
- sonr (from sunaR) son vs. synir (from suniR) sons.

  (b) I-umlaut:  $a \circ u \bar{a} \bar{o} \bar{u} au > \varrho \circ y \bar{\varrho} \bar{o} \bar{y} \varrho y$  (katilaR > kętilR kettle; komiR > kømR, ON kemr comes; ungiR\bar{a} > yngRe younger, ON yngri; m\bar{a}li > m\bar{e}li \text{ speak I. sg.; } d\bar{o}mi\bar{o}\bar{o} > d\bar{o}m\bar{o}a \text{ judged I. sg.; } l\bar{u}kiR > l\bar{y}kR \text{ closes 3. sg. pres.; } hauRian > h\ellow Ra \text{ hear}). When the i is a consonantal glide, as in the last example ('j-umlaut'), or is preserved, it affects all preceding vowels; if it is lost, it does not affect preceding short vowels before single consonants unless the i is followed by R (katil\bar{o}R > katlaR \text{ kettles; } wali\bar{o}\bar{o} > wal\bar{o}a \text{ chose I sg., } but batiR\bar{a} > b\ellow tRi \text{ better}). Many explanations have been offered, the traditional one Kock's period theory (600-700 umlaut by lost i in long syllables; 700-800 no umlaut by lost i in short syllables; 800-1000 umlaut by retained i), but see discussion in Haugen (1969).

  (c) Breaking: e > ia (from which, by u-umlaut  $i\varrho$ ) before non-front vowels  $(a \ u)$ , unless preceded by  $w \ l \ r$  or followed by h (e\bar{b}na > ia\bar{b}n \text{ even, ON } jafn; er\bar{o}u > iar\bar{o}u \text{ earth, ON } j\rho\bar{o}; \text{ but } wer\bar{p}a > wer\bar{p}a \text{ become, ON } ver\bar{o}a).
- become, ON verða).
- (d) U-umlaut:  $a e i \bar{a} \bar{e} i e i > \varrho \circ y \bar{\varrho} \bar{\sigma} \bar{y} e y$  (barnu > born children, teguR > togR ten, trigguR > tryggR safe,  $s\bar{a}ru > sor$  wounds,  $b\bar{l}iu > b\bar{l}\bar{y}$  lead, eiu > ey always). Examples of the long vowels are few and none is included for  $\bar{e}$ . The vowel a can be affected by both i and u, resulting in a lower  $\varrho$ , as in PSc akuisi > CSc  $\varrho$ ks axe  $(a > \varrho > \varrho$ , or possibly  $a > \varrho > \varrho$ ). While u-umlaut by lost u and glide ('w-umlaut') are fairly general, u-umlaut by preserved u is mostly limited to WSc (not even including East Nw).

## (3) Assimilatory vowel changes

- (a) Diphthong contraction:  $ai\ au > \bar{a}\ \bar{o}$  before  $h\ (ai\ also\ before\ R)$  (faihiðō Einang  $> f\bar{a}hi\bar{o}$ ō Rö drew, painted, ON fáða; þauh  $> p\bar{o}h$ though, ON  $p\vec{\delta}$ ).
- (b) Lowering:  $\check{t} \ \check{u} > \check{e} \ \check{o}$  before ht (wihtiR > wehtiR creature, ON véttr, vættr; pūhto  $> p\bar{o}hto$  thought pret., ON pótta).

- (c) Raising: e > i before ij in next syllable (segljan > sigljan sail v., ON sigla). This change is often included with i-umlaut, but was probably earlier; its effect is not to create a new vowel.
- (d) Diphthong assimilation: ai au eu >  $\neq$  i  $\neq$  u iu (stainaR > CSc st $\neq$  inn stone; laukaR > CSc loukR leek; leu $\neq$  u liu $\neq$  u dear f. sg., ON lj $\neq$  u. In each case the first member is raised to approximate the second.
- (e) Nasalization: the nasality of disappearing nasals was transferred to the preceding vowel, creating a class of nasal vowels:  $ansuR > \tilde{a}nsuR > \tilde{a}ss$  god; fimflaR > fimflaR > fifl monster.
- (f) Diphthongal stress shift: i > j before another vowel (liubu > ljubu dear, ON ljuf; hiartan > hjartan heart, ON hjarta). This is not reflected in the writing.
- (g) Length regulation: vowels are lengthened to compensate for disappearing consonants and finally under stress, while they are shortened before some consonant clusters ( $rehtaR > r\bar{e}ttR$  right,  $\tilde{a}ss > \bar{a}ss$  god,  $sa > s\bar{a}$  that m.,  $g\tilde{o}\tilde{o}t > g\tilde{o}tt > gott$  good n. sg.).

The CSc vowel system resulting from the above changes:

Stressed vowels	Front unround [+F, -R]	Front round [+F, +R]	Back unround [-F, -R]	Back round [-F, +R]
Diphthongs [—H+H] High [+H, -L] Mid [-H, -L] Low [+L, -H] Unstressed vowels	ęi i ī ĩ e ē ẽ ę ē ẽ i	ęy y y y y ø ō ŏ ø ō ŏ	aāã a	Qu           u ū ũ           o ō õ           Q Q Q

(4) The consonant system. The trend in the consonant system was one of reduction through loss and assimilation. The PSc consonants were:

	Stops Vl	Spii Vl	rants Vd	Nasals Vd	Sibi Vl	lants Vd	Liq Vd	uids	Glides Vd
Labial	р	φ	þ[b]						w
Apico-dental Palato-velar	k	p x	ð[d] <del>g</del> [g]	n [ŋ]	S	Z	r	I	j

(a) Loss of glides:  $w > \emptyset$  except before non-round vowels or r plus non-round vowels (with some exceptions);  $j > \emptyset$  except medially before non-front vowels (unless after a long syllable) ( $wor\delta a > or\delta$  word; wullu > ull wool;  $W\bar{o}\delta anaR > O\delta inR$  a god; haggwan > hoggwa

hew; wripan > wripa writhe;  $j\bar{a}ra > \bar{a}r$  year; jungaR > ungR young;  $d\bar{o}mjan > d\bar{o}ma$  judge; wiljan > wilja will v.). The rules for loss and retention are complex; however, the chief result is that w and j occur only as non-syllabic variants of u and i and are so written.

- (c) Nasal assimilation: Nasals are opened and vocalized before f r s and finally after vowels (fimfla > fifl fool, bunraR > borR Thor; gansuR > gass goose; fram > fra from; faran > fara go). Later the nasalization is lost, leaving long vowels in stressed syllables and short vowels in unstressed. Nasals are assimilated with gemination of the following consonant before voiceless stops (bant > batt bound, brantaR > brattR steep, swampuR > swoppR > soppR mushroom). For some words this change was CSc, cf Sw tacka thank, fick got, gick went, dricka drink, mitt mine, ett one. But as a general rule it is limited to Ic and some Nw and Sw dialects; see the map of brant vs. bratt in Sweden (Map 10). The change has been dated by Moberg (1944) to 650-850.
- (d) Elimination of  $z: zn \ z\delta > nn \ \delta\delta$  (later dd) (razna > rann house;  $gaz\delta az > ga\delta\delta R > ON \ gaddr$  point); elsewhere z > R (runic  $\Upsilon$ , probably a voiced apico-palatal sibilant). As R it was extensively assimilated (after syncope of intervening vowels) to preceding apicodentals, esp.  $n \ sr \ l$ , e.g. stain R > stain R > steinn stone (Eggjum  $\langle stAin \rangle \ c$ . 700), but otherwise the rules vary dialectally.  $Z > \delta$  only in  $izwiz > i\delta wiR$  you pl. (ON  $y\delta r$ , OSw  $i\beta er$ ), probably by dissimilation. By 900 R is lost after m ( $\beta ain R > \beta eim$  dat. pl. Tryggevælde c. 900); by 1100 R is generally merged with r.

The CSc consonant system resulting from these changes was:

	Stor Vl	os Vd	Spirants VI[Vd]	Nasals Vd	Sibilants VI	Liquid Vd	ls	Glides Vd
Labial	p	b	f[b]	m			11747	[w]
Apico-dental Palato-velar	k	g	þ[ð] h[ <del>g</del> ]	n [ŋ]	s	r	1[1]	[j]

All consonants can be geminated after vowels except the spirants and the glides (on ww and jj see 8.5.2). Nasals, liquids and glides are voiceless after h(k; [l]) represents a velarized ('dark') l found in some dialects in non-dental environment.

- **9.4.2.** The *grammar* of CSc is not markedly different from that of the other Gmc language at this early stage, aside from the differences mentioned above (8.5.2, 8.5.3) and those that result from different phonological developments discussed below.
- (1) The inflections of CSc are in general developed from those of PSc by regular phonological change, with the major development being the disappearance of the stem vowels which were the chief markers of the stem class declensions. Nouns like PSc dagaR day, herðiaR shepherd, horna horn, gastiR guest, skelduR shield were all clearly marked, while CSc dagR, hirðiR, horn, gestR, and skiǫldR had nothing to mark the stem classes; only in the acc. pl. did many of them retain the vowel: daga, hirða, horn, gesti, skjǫldu. The paradigmatic consequences were the merger of a number of declensions, e.g. the sg. of a- and i-stems; the dat. and acc. sg. of m. and n.; the gen. pl. of most stems; the dat. pl. of all stems: the plural of the m. strong (a-stems) and weak (an-stems) by the addition of -r to the latter (and to the corresponding f. weak stems).
- (2) The personal pronouns of CSc are like those of the other Gmc dialects in distinguishing 1. and 2. person by different words, unmarked for gender, in the sg., dual and pl.: ek/iak (from eka) I,  $b\bar{u}$  thou, wit we two,  $w\bar{e}r/w\bar{v}r$  we (more than two), it you two,  $\bar{e}r/\bar{i}r$  you (more than two). The -t of the dual is probably a remnant of the word for two (IE -dwo). Where two forms are given above, the first is WSc, the second ESc. The 3. person is marked for gender, PSc  $h\bar{a}n$ -aR he (> CSc  $h\bar{a}nn$ ),  $h\bar{a}n$ -u she (> CSc  $h\bar{e}n$ ). Each of these is inflected for case. Possessive pronouns are derived from the genitive of the personal pronouns by adding the strong adjective suffixes to the first and second persons, e.g. CSc  $m\bar{i}nn$  from PSc  $m\bar{i}n$ -aR my, mine (nom.

- sg. m.). In the 3. person the genitives are both personal and possessive (e.g. hans his).
- (3) PSc takes over the demonstrative pronoun sa m. (su f. pat n.) that from Gmc (cf Go sa sō pata) and shares the formation of sa-si (later pes-si) with WGmc; eventually new paradigms are formed from secondary stems in penn-|pess-|pett-. Inn that is a weak form of PSc jainaR (Go jains, Ger jener, Eng yon); it combines with he- (IE ke-|ko-, cf Eng he) to form hinn also meaning 'that, the'. The chief interrogative pronouns are hwerr|hwā who, hwat what, hwar(r) which one, inflected like the others, at least in the sg. New indefinite pronouns peculiar to Sc are nakkwarr someone (from ne wait ek hwērr I don't know who), winn-hwērr anyone, and hwarr-tweggja either one (of two). The suffix -gi is much used to generalize pronouns and later to form negatives (with loss of ne), as in engi no one, ekki nothing (from ein-gi and eit-gi).
- (4) Adjectives have a strong and a weak declension. The strong has the endings of the a-stems for m, and n, genders respectively and of the  $\bar{o}$ -stems for f., except that nearly half of them are replaced by pronominal forms from the demonstrative sa, e.g. nom. sg. m. -aR, f. -u, n. -at (> CSc -r, -u, -t), from the a-stem -aR, the  $\bar{o}$ -stem -u and the pronominal bat. It is a specially Sc development that the neuter sg. form of adjectives functions adverbially, e.g. CSc gob-R good (m. sg. nom.), gob-t well (also nom. acc. sg. n. of 'good'), becoming ON gott. The weak declension has the endings of the weak nouns in the sg. (except that the n. is -a in all cases), but the pl. is -u in all cases. The marker of the comparative and superlative is -r- and -stas in other Gmc languages, preceded by -i- in a few adjectives (which lost it in favor of umlauting in CSc) and by  $-\bar{o}$  (> -a-) in most, e.g. ON yngri younger (from PSc jung-iRē), vitrari wiser (from PSc witr-\(\bar{o}R\bar{e}\)). The comparative is always weak, the superlative either weak or strong.
- (5) The *verb* inflection is closely similar to that of the other Gmc languages, though there is no trace of the dual number or the mediopassive voice or the 3. pers. imp. of Go. The most important distinction is that of tense, the preterite (and perfect participle) being distinguished from the present either (in 'strong' verbs) by ablaut alternation (from the IE perfect) or (in 'weak' verbs) by dental suffix (a Gmc innovation). The ablaut classes are six in number and are well maintained in CSc, though with many phonological changes.

Reduplication (as in Go haihait was called) is virtually lost (CSc hēt was called). The weak preterites fall into three classes according to the vowel that links the -n of the inf. and the dental of the preterite to the root: (1) -ja- (PSc lagjan > CSc leggia lay), (2) - $\bar{o}$ - (PSc kall $\bar{o}$ n > CSc kalla call), (3) - $\bar{e}$ - (PSc wak $\bar{e}$ n > CSc waka wake). The verbs in -na(n) do not as in Go make a separate class, but belong to class (2).

The present suffixes of the strong sg. change from PSc to CSc by generalizing -i- to the 1. p. and -R from the 2. to the 3. (PSc -u, -iz,  $-i\delta > \text{CSc } -i, -iR, -iR$ ); though the change of  $-\delta$  to -R could be phonological (e.g.  $izwiz > y\delta r$  you acc. pl.). The latter change is datable to c. 700 by the contrast of bariutip (i.e. brytio) on Stentoften and bArutR (i.e. brytR) breaks on Björketorp (both in Lister, Sweden). We have earlier discussed the 2. p. sg. of the strong pret. in -t (namt you took) for WGmc -e (OE nume) (above 8.5.2). The perfect participle retained its -a- (e.g. PSc bit-an-aR bitten) long enough to avoid umlaut of the root unless preceded by a velar (CSc farinn gone, WSc tekinn taken), at least in WSc. The most striking innovation of NGmc is mentioned below (under syntax): the suffixation of the reflexive pronoun sik, in WSc as -st, in ESc as -s. These were presumably both derived from -sk (the only two cases in Da inscriptions from the Viking Age—barbusk fought Arhus 4, kuask says Ars—have this form), but -s may be from -sR (séR).

(6) The morphology of CSc was complicated by the development of root alternations resulting from the loss of many unstressed vowels and the corresponding development of new vowels and diphthongs in the stressed syllables. Some (morphophonemic) alternations were retained from Gmc, e.g. ablaut in the verb system and elsewhere, consonant voicing ('Verner's Law') in the strong preterites, both greatly changed by later phonological rules (e.g. PSc fanp sg. vs. funðum pl. found > CSc fann vs. fundum). The most important new alternations resulted from umlaut and breaking, which have been described above; in the paradigms of CSc they may be represented by -i (i-umlaut), -u (u-umlaut) and -b (breaking). An example of a complex paradigm is that of the u-stems, which were subject to all three. The suffixes in CSc may be written: -buR, -bu, -ii, -baR; -iiR, -buu, -buumR, -ba. As long as this system remained intact, it was not greatly

different from that of PSc, excepting that the final vowels were now incorporated in the root vowel.

	Sg. Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	
PSc	skeld-uR	skeld-u	skeld-iu	skeld-ō-R	
CSc	skiǫld-R	skiǫld	skild-i	skiald-a-R	
	Pl. Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	
PSc	skeld-iu-R	skeld-u-n	skeld-u-mR	skeld-ō	
CSc	skild-i-R	skiǫld-u	skiǫld-u-mR	skiald-a	

9.4.3. A large part of the lexicon consisted of compounds and derivatives, involving processes of collocation and affixation that continue to be productive. The chief deviation of NGmc from Gmc usage was the loss of unstressed prefixes in CSc (Vonhof 1905; Christiansen 1960). That many of these were still present in PSc appears from the inscriptions as well as certain survivals in later Sc. Thus ON sinni companion (from sinn going) corresponds exactly to Go ga-sinha, OE ge-siða, OS gi-sið and OHG gi-sindo, in which the prefix means 'with' (cf Lat cum), but in ON the prefix has been lost. In ON granni neighbor, however, the prefix has remained as an initial g without semantic function, as we see by comparing the word with Go ga-razna neighbor, lit, 'house mate' (Go razn, ON rann, OE ærn house; cf Eng ransack). The loss of such prefixes has even led to some ambiguities in the verbs, e.g. ON lúka can mean either to close or to open, corresponding to OE be-lūcan close and on-lūcan open, unlock. ON gráta weep can be either intransitive or transitive ('weep for'), the latter corresponding to OE be-gratan (cf Eng bemoan); in the late Middle Ages the prefix was re-imported from Ger be-weinen to make a new verb be-grata (Da be-græde) with transitive meaning (thus coincidentally recreating a form that was probably lost about A.D. 700).

9.4.4. Some syntactic features that appear already in CSc include (1) extensive use of impersonal (i.e. subjectless) verbs, e.g. ON rignir i dag it is raining today, mik dreymir I am dreaming (lit. 'me dreams'); (2) the development of a mediopassive suffix by the attachment of the reflexive pronouns mik and sik to the verb: ON Maria festisk from festiR sik Maria engages herself > Maria is engaged; (3) the development of a preterite infinitive from the 3. pers. pret. pl.: ON Skirnir kvaðsk (kvazk) ganga myndu S. said he would go (lit. 'himself (to) would

go'); (4) the development of a new perfect tense with the auxiliary hafa have and the neuter of the perfect participle (hann hafpi . . . tu giald takit Uppland 241); (5) the development of new negatives by the loss of initial ne with adverbs and pronouns: PSc ne aiw-gi not ever > eigi not, PSc ne aint-gi 'not anything' > ekki nothing; (6) the development of es (> er) from PGmc is (cf Lat is, id) as a relative particle; (7) the replacement of es and  $s\bar{a}$  by hann he and hon she as anaphoric pronouns; (8) the retention of Gmc sin (Go seina, cf Lat suus) as a reflexive possessive; (9) the development of hinn (and inn) as a demonstrative and (10) its suffixation to nouns as a definite article, e.g.  $ma\delta r$ -inn the man, manns-ins the man's, probably after 800; (11) the loss of initial p in pat when used as a conjunction, giving at as the regular introducer of embedded declarative clauses.

The normal word order is subject-verb-object (SVO), with the possibility of VSO in questions, conditional clauses (without conjunctions), after initial modifiers, in imperatives and irregularly in narrative sentences. SOV may occur in subordinate clauses, but contrary to OHG and modern Ger there is no rule requiring it. The S is marked by a nominative case ending, the V agrees with the S in number and person and is further inflected for tense (present: preterite) and mood (indicative: subjunctive), while the O is marked by one of the oblique cases, gen. dat. or acc. These are also used to mark government by prepositions and occasionally adjectives or nouns. Adjectives are inflected to agree with their nouns in number, case and gender; they may either precede or follow the nouns, generally the latter (as do pronominal and genitive modifiers and relative clauses). Word order is still relatively free, especially in poetry.

9.5 The Lexicon. The sources are far too scanty to provide any kind of adequate picture of the stock of words in CSc. We may assume that all words which later Sc languages share with other Gmc and IE languages were part of CSc, unless they can be shown to be loans. Skautrup (1.75) has estimated that some 2,000 basic words of modern Danish can be traced back to Gmc.

The earliest Scandinavians were obviously well supplied with words for their natural environment, the world of soil, water, air and fire from which they earned their livelihood. The words for farming and hunting, for houses and homesteads, for wild and domesticated animals, were much the same as today. Words for handicrafts were

few, smith (PSc smipaR) being about the only designation for a craftsman; but there were words for the chief metals, for weapons like the sword and the shield, as well as some nautical expressions. The life of society was reflected in terms for king, chieftain, servant, thief, whore and other human roles, as well as the communities in which they interacted: bygð 'built-up area' for the locality, fylki 'people's land' for a larger area, land for a grouping of peoples (as in Jutland, Gotland, Hordaland). Names for gods and goblins as well as types and places of worship guarantee the presence of religious and magic concepts.

9.5.1. Words that are attested in the later Sc sources, but have no exact equivalents in other Gmc languages, may well be Sc innovations. It has been estimated (Skautrup 1. 166) that at least 1,200 uncompounded words belong to this category. Most of the words can be accounted for as variants, derivatives, or new uses of known Gmc words. To judge from their formation, some of them must have existed in PGmc times, side by side with formal variants or synonyms that were eventually preferred by the other Gmc languages. Cleavages in vocabulary arose when, for example, Sc chose the suffix -s in Gmc leuhsa light (> CSc ljūs) while WGmc chose the suffix -t (leuhta > Ger Licht, Eng light), both from the root leuh- shine (IE leuk-); or when Sc chose a form with -an in the stems for 'bear' and 'eagle', Gmc beran, aran (> PSc bernu, arnu > CSc bjorn, orn), while (some) WGmc chose a form without -an (ber-, ar- > Ger Bär, Aar; Eng bear but erne). In the comparative of the adverb 'up' Sc (and OE, OFr) chose a suffix with i-umlaut, Gmc ubizan (> CSc ofri), while OHG chose one without, Gmc ubazan (> OHG obaro upper).

9.5.2. It is difficult if not impossible to reconstruct the course of events that led to the choice by a dialect of one word or meaning in preference to another. In CSc four words competed for the meaning 'forest', mork, holt, vipr and skogR; today the first means (generally) open country or f.eld, the second a grove, the third wood, while the fourth is the common word for forest. The first three have analogues in Gmc and IE, but the last is uncertainly related by ablaut to OE scaga thicket and CSc skagi headland; it is perhaps a descriptive term meaning 'pointed'. The usual WGmc word for forest was none of these, but Gmc walpuz (> OS OHG wald, OE weald), which in CSc meant a plain or meadow (> ON vollr). The development of a word for forest into one for open country is

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understandable in terms of the progress of settlement: morh in modern Sc, vollr in ON, and wold in Eng (= a treeless plain). But their succession in time and the replacements chosen are not easy to explain (R. Schützeichel, ZDA 87. 105-24, 1956-7).

9.5.3. A number of the Sc innovations are derivatives formed with suffixes still active in PSc:

-ipō f.: blygþ (sense of) shame, hefnd revenge, þyngþ weight -ja n.: lyndi character, lȳti defect, mē̄li speech, skipti change -ian m.: uermi warmth

-ōn f.: enkja widow (from einn alone; WGmc widuwo from IE = 'separated'), gāta riddle (WGmc rādisli from Gmc rādan), huīla (also huīld f.) rest (WGmc 'while'), uētska fluid, moisture

-jōn f.: møþa weariness

-in f.: glepi gladness, kēti joy

-sl-: kensî n. pl., kensla f. knowledge, feeling, hrēpsla f. fear

-ligR a.: dāligR poor, einsligR lonely, prifligR thriving

-inn a.: galinn mad, kręsinn finicky, rotinn rotten (Eng from Sc)

-ipaR a.: mettR satisfied (Go saps, Ger satt, OIc sapr from IE), prøyttR tired

-skR a.: beiskR bitter (Go baitrs), griskR greedy (cf OE grædig), suenskR Swedish

-jan v.: beita graze (OE bātan hunt, worry), brēka bleat (OIc brækta), gøyja bark (OE gōian groan), gløyma forget (from glaumr noise, joy), hitta hit, meet (Eng hit from Sc), knyta tie (from knūtR knot), knekkia crack, køyra drive, lēsa lock, hlýpa listen, obey (WGmc 'make a noise'), skrēma frighten, þuētta wash

-nan v.: blāna turn (appear) blue, dāna faint (from dāinn dead), robna blush, redden, rotna rot, stabna stop

Other examples will be found above under derivation (9.4.3).

9.5.4. Any attempt to characterize the innovations of CSc semantically would require a detailed analysis of CSc cultural patterns, relating these to what we can deduce about the Gmc patterns. Since the main features of life remained very much the same, the process can only be characterized as a filling in of details in an increasingly complex cultural landscape. It is not possible here to discuss the extent to which each word is a merely terminological innovation or represents an actual cultural change. The following examples will illustrate the development:

- Physical terrain: bakki m. hill, pūfa f. tussock, kelda f. spring, kiarr n. thicket, myrr f. marsh (Eng mire from Sc), fors m. rapids, waterfall, oddi m. headland, odd number (Eng odd from Sc), rif n. reef (in sea, Eng reef from Sc), ny ok nip n. waxing and waning (moon), myrkr n. darkness, lugn n. calm, pordyn m. thunder, gryia v. dawn
- Plants and trees: lundR m. grove, einiR m. juniper, gron f. spruce, heggR m. chokecherry, lyng n. heather, laf n. lichen, sif n. seaweed, greinn m. branch, kuistR m. twig, barR n. needle, neefr f. birchbark
- Farming:  $d\bar{y}rka$  v. cultivate,  $g\bar{o}pa$  v. fertilize (lit. 'improve'), mykr f. manure,  $m\bar{o}inn$  (>  $m\bar{o}pinn$ ,  $m\bar{o}ginn$ ) ripe, almenningR m. common (land), beitsl n. bridle (OE  $geb\bar{x}tel$ ),  $sn\bar{o}ri$  n. cord (OHG snuor), andbop n. tools
- Animals and birds: grīss m. pig, kipling R m. kid, kjūkling R m. chick, gosling, ref R m. fox, krāka f. crow (Eng crow from Gmc krēwōn), māki m. seagull (Eng mew, OIc mār from Gmc maiwōz), perna f. tern (Eng from Sc), gedda f. pike, sīld f. herring, qurripi m. trout ('the sand rider')
- Buildings and furnishings: bialki m. beam (WGmc balken related by ablaut), fiql f. board, hylla f. shelf, fēhūs n. (> ON fjōs) barn, sual(i) m. porch (ON svalir f. pl.), golf n. floor, ljōri m. smoke vent, sēing f. bed, dyna f. featherbed
- Food and clothing: kjęt n. meat, stęik f. roast (Eng steak from Sc), gryta f. kettle, kaka f. cake (Eng from Sc), hløypiR m. rennet, daguerpR (OSw -varðr) m. 'daymeal' = breakfast, nattuerpR m. 'night meal' = supper, hetta f. hood (from hattR hat), lūfa f. cap, mop of hair, erm(i) f. sleeve, uapmāl n. homespun ('cloth measure'), sylgja f. brooch, skegg n. beard
- People: dreng R m. man, hero, prēll m. slave (Eng thrall from Sc), drotning f. queen, kerling f. woman, wife, nīping R m. criminal, dastard, fēlagi m. companion (Eng fellow from Sc), tuilling R m. twin, enkja f. widow, systkin n. sibling, fōstri m. foster (father, son, brother), fopurfapir m. paternal grandfather (and other terms of same type), stafkarl m. beggar
- Law and administration: log n. pl. law (Eng from Sc), bryti m. steward, umbobsmap R (ESc ombubsmann) m. (royal) steward, koupang R (ESc kopingr) m. (trading) town, skoyti n. (land) deed, rān n. plunder, rannsaka v. ransack (Eng from Sc), leipang R

(-ingR, -ungR) m. foray, warpath, øykt f. work period, knorr m.

merchant ship, skeip f. longship, orrosta f. battle Qualities: dofinn a. lazy, fātōkR a. poor, hōgri a. right (from hōgR convenient), kātR a. frisky, gay, miūkR a. soft (Eng meek from Sc), spakR a. wise, ūsēll a. miserable, unhappy, uāndR a. bad

9.5.5. In the brief formulas of the runic inscriptions there was scarcely much opportunity for display of foreign words, until the invasion of Christian terms began with the adoption of Christianity. We are leaving these for the next chapter and considering here only such terms as can reasonably be assigned to the pre-Christian period. The chief trade contact from the south prior to the Viking Age was with the Frisians, the leading Gmc traders between 500 and 900. Such clearly cultural goods as the following have been attributed to them, though it is hard to be sure that they could not have come from OE or OS:  $b\bar{a}kn$  n. beacon (OF  $b\bar{a}ken$ , OE  $b\bar{e}acen$ , OS  $b\bar{o}kan$ ), akkeri n. anchor,  $b\bar{a}tR$  m. boat (since the CSc word would have been beit n., found only in poetry), klępi n. cloth, dūkR m. cloth, sail, sekkR m. sack (from Lat saccus), kerra f. cart (Lat carra), kāl n. cabbage (Lat caulis). The tireless advocate of Frisian origin was E. Wadstein (e.g. HVSU, Upps., 21, 1922, no. 3, 13), but his etymologies are not generally accepted today (Höfler, Arkiv 47, 1931: 287); see, however, Skautrup's list 1. 174.

Other cultural loans are assumed to have come via OE, especially after the viking contacts with England: mylna f. mill (Lat molina > OE mylen m., OS mulin f.), strēti n. street (Lat strāta > OE stræt f.), hirp f. court (OE hīrēd), stallari m. king's marshal (Lat stabularius > OE steallere), kyrtill m. kirtle (OE cyrtel), gimR m. gem (Lat gemma > OE gimm), mynt f. money (Lat moneta > OE mynet, MLG munte), penningR m. money, penny (OE penning, MLG pening, prob. from Lat panna cloth), ork f. chest, arc (Lat arca > OE earc), skutilR m. dart, shuttle, table (Lat scutella > OE scutel, scytel), handski m. glove (OE handsciō, OS handskōh 'hand-shoe'). The world of early medieval sophistication to which these words introduce us is an entirely new facet of Sc life, deriving from an initiation into the elegance of the feudal world, which was already well established in England and Germany while the Scandinavians were still pagan. As the etymologies suggest, most of the words are of Latin origin, and it is rarely possible to say for certain whether they came from England or Germany (i.e.

OS), most of them having been adopted in both countries. They belong to the world of the *hirp* the king's retinue, from OE *hīrēd*, where *prūpr* stately, fine was the fashionable adjective, used already in Thórbjorn Hornklofi's *Glymdrápa* in the ninth century (Fischer 1909: 198) and frequently after that. The word came from OE *prūd* proud, arrogant, OFr *prud* brave, good, Lat *prōdus* useful from *prōvidus* foreseeing (Brøndal 1928: 366).

Other sources have been proposed for a few words, e.g. Irish for kapall m. horse (OIr capall, Lat caballus) and a handful of others; Slavic for humli m. hops, silki n. silk, torg market place (OSl trugu, Russ torgū possibly from Wendish). Few if any words could have come to Sc directly from these languages. Many words of obviously Latin origin were common coin in western Europe and could have been spread through Roman traders as well as Germanic speakers: pund n. pound, uīn n. wine, skrīn n. chest, pipari m. pepper, mottull (ESc mantul) m. mantle, belti n. belt (Lat balteus), taft f. chess (Lat tabula).

- 9.5.6. The names in the inscriptions and early OSc literature are characteristically Scandinavian, differing markedly from those of the PSc period. They are either simple attributives like Bjorn 'bear', Hrafn 'raven', Sueinn 'warrior', or compounds of such types as As-mundR 'protected by the gods', Ō-lāfR (from PSc Anu-laibaz) 'descendant of the ancients', Har-aldR (from PSc Hari-waldaz) 'ruler of the army', Pōr-gisl 'servant of Thor'. Names of Christian origin do not begin to appear until well after A.D. 1000. Each person had only one name, but membership in a family could be indicated by variation of a single stem or alliteration among the names. Warin erected a stone in memory of his son Wæmoð, the famous Rök stone, in the ninth century. According to the Ic Book of Settlement (Landnáma), þórbigrn laxakarl 'salmon man' called his sons Oddkell, Pórkell and Pórgils, who got a daughter Oddkatla, mother of Pórkatla, mother of Pórvaldr. The name pórr was inherited, but so was the element ketill 'kettle' (> -kell, f. -katla), perhaps a slang term for 'helmet', as well as oddr 'sword's point'. The terms sound warlike, but they were combined rather freely and probably without much thought of their literal meaning (Modéer 1964).
- 9.5.7. Another important heritage from the CSc period was the treasury of *place-names* (above 9.2.3). In the more fertile and populous regions, where the farms developed into villages, as in the Da islands,

southern and central Sweden, the village names were primary; in W Jutland, Norway, northern Sweden, Iceland and the Faroes the farm names were more significant. These run into so many thousands (e.g. in Norway c. 50,000) that they permit conclusions about the order of settlement and the development of religious beliefs in the communities. In addition, of course, there were the names of natural objects of all kinds: valleys, mountains, lakes, islands, rivers. These are harder to date, since they refer to permanent objects that could have been named by the first IE invaders to inhabit Norden. There are no place-names that can be assigned with any assurance to pre-IE inhabitants, though Magnus Olsen has suggested that such island names as Solund, Storð, Hitr, or Senja along the Nw coast may have been given by mesolithic peoples, since they are impenetrable from an IE point of view.

(1) The most interesting for their yield in terms of language history are the stable farm and village names, which can be analyzed by their form and location into successive chronological types. These data can then be fitted into a scheme in which linguists have co-operated with archeologists to determine a more precise dating. The oldest names are presumably those that are uncompounded, though these could also be later; but names like Dal 'valley', Holt 'forest', Lund 'grove', Haug 'hill', Berg 'cliff' and As 'ridge' often refer to sizable farms, or fit into compounds that show derivation of younger and datable names. They also reflect a typically northern landscape, but by themselves they tell us little about the society that grew up there. Most important are the primary place-names, which reflect actual settlement; secondary names are those that were originally intended for other activities, e.g. Sw Varggården 'wolf farm', originally a place for wolf traps. The relative dating of primary names involves the size of the farms and their location: the largest are also the best and the oldest (Steenstrup's 'geometric' method). An absolute dating is more difficult, but can be approximated for some names by studying the names given by the Vikings who settled in England, the Faroes and Iceland. Names that are compounded with Christian names must presumably be dated after the conversion. Each country shares some name types with the others, but each also has its own characteristic stock, developed in response to specific geographical and historical needs. Many of the name types can be displayed on maps that show regional distribution.

- (2) Nw name types older than the Viking Age were those in -win meadow, -heimR home, -land land and -setr place. Today they are often hard to detect because of phonetic changes (except for -land with c. 2,000 examples), e.g. Brū-win Bryn, Dīs-win Disen, Grjot-win Grytten, Hof-win Have; Ask-heimR Askim, Sæ-heimR Sem, HeiðaR-heimR Hedrum; Akra-land Åkerland, Rossa-land Rosseland; Frøy-setr Frøyset, Laðu-setr Løset. The first members usually refer to a natural feature (stone, ash, sea, heath), to some aspect of farming (bridge, field, horse, barn), or to worship (goddess, temple, Frey). They rarely include personal names as first elements, since the farms were not the result of individual settlement. Viking Age names include -land but also -stapiR place (-stead) as the most popular (c. 2,500 names), also a favorite of the settlers in Iceland. StabiR-names were very often named after individuals, e.g. BjölfsstabiR Bjølstad, Gauks-stabiR Gokstad. This was even more true of the youngest and least prestigious of these names, the post-Christian -rub clearing, mostly found in the ENw forest areas, e.g. Yons-rub Jonsrud, Koppara-rub turner's clearing Kopperud.
- (3) Da name types also included -heimR (usually reduced to -um), -stapiR (not used in Danelaw or Normandy, so they probably died out earlier), and -rup (usually -rod) as a late name, esp. in NSjælland. The chief pre-viking names were -porp farm (with c. 2,000 names) and -by farm, village (with c. 650), e.g. Høg-porp Hørup, Myr-porp Mørdrup, Øster-by east farm; both of these were highly productive in the Da settlements in England. The first corresponds to Ger -dorf, while the second is purely Sc. Harder to interpret are the other previking names -inge (often a family marker), -lev (probably heritage), and -løse (now often -else, as in Slagelse) meadow or hillside? Examples are Tofting, Hjalms-lev Hjelmslev, Stenløse. Popular Viking Age names (though less so than -porp and -by) were -toft plot (Sw tomt) and pweit clearing, e.g. Wip-toftæ Vedtoft, Humlæ-pwet Humbla (both popular in the Danelaw). Late settlement names from post-viking times were -bølle dwelling and -ager field (Sw -åkra), as in Bakkebølle and Mariager.
- (4) Sw name types were different in SSw and WSw from those in CSw, as the historical relations might lead us to expect. SSw names were generally of Da type, while WSw had much in common with those of Norway. The pre-viking names of SSw were -löv heritage (same as Da -lev), probably with the name of the donor as first

element, e.g. Högna-löv, Romundalef Rommele; -lösa (= Da -löse above), e.g. Biærgh-lösa Bjällösa, Hasl-lösa Hasslösa. In WSw (Boh Vg etc.) they are -win(i), as in Ramm-win(i) marsh pasture Remmene, Kalfwin(i) calf pasture Kälvene; -heimR (> -hem), as in Markhem Markim or Markum, Mæ-hem Mem. The CSw name types are -tuna farmstead, which makes up in distinction for its modest number (c. 120), often compounded with the ophoric names like  $Frey (> Fr\ddot{o})$ in Fröstuna, Njord in Närtuna, Porr in Torstuna, and Ullr in Ulltuna; -inge (see Da above), mostly compounded with personal names, perhaps the owner, e.g. Gillinge (from Gille), Svärtinge (from Svart), Orminge (from Orm); -stabiR, concentrated in CSw from Upp to Ög, e.g. Gisla-stadha Gistad, Gubribar-stabiR Gådersta; -by, the most popular of Sw names (c. 3,400), mostly from the Viking Age, often as secondary names to older farms, e.g. Mikla-byr Myckelby, Mebal-byr Melby. More widespread but less frequent were names in -tomta (same as Da -tofta, from which they are derived), e.g. Ristomta; -åker (-åkra in SSw), e.g. Uller-åker the god Ull's field; and -hög(a) hill, e.g. Smör-höga butter hill, Hul-höga hollow hill Hulie.

- (5) The Christian period resulted in an enormous domestic colonization, since the surplus population could no longer indulge in viking raids. This colonization is reflected here as in Denmark and Norway by names for new farms, cleared in the hills and forests: -porp, spread from Denmark into S and C Sweden (c. 7,500 farms), three out of four compounded with a man's name, including many Christian, e.g. Anders-torp, Eriks-torp, even Thiufs-torp!; -rup(-ryd, -röd, -red), common in W Sweden (as in E Norway), e.g. Algutse-rud, Skinnara-rup tanner's clearing Skinnerud; -måla measured lot, in SE Sweden, as in Ulvs-måla; -säter summer pasture, from the areas in N and W Sweden where these were gradually turned into permanent habitations, e.g. Fridhgers-säter Friggesäter; -boda booth, primarily an outbarn which became the site of a new farm, e.g. Geta-boda Getabo; and -hult, chiefly from the forested areas in SC Sweden, e.g. Björk-hult, Fager-hult fair woods.
- (6) Sc farm names are also to be found in the more outlying areas, as in Finland (where they have often been Finnicized), in Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, the Hebrides, Shetland, the Orkneys and the old Danelaw (where they have been Celticized or Anglicized). About one hundred names are known from the lost Norse colony in Greenland. In Iceland and the Faroes the names are those that were

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given largely by the first generation of settlers, so that they reflect at once the customs of naming in their period and the new conditions in the colonies which required modification. Name types like -by and -thwaite appear very commonly in England (Whitby, Grimsby, Cowperthwaite), while the somewhat later -stapiR is the favorite one in Iceland. A few Fa names are of Celtic origin, e.g. the islands Dimun 'two mountain tops', but virtually all the rest are Nw in origin, names given to farms that later (if they grew) became villages and settlements. Many of these were island names, e.g. Skúvoy, Nólsoy, others bays, harbors and headlands, e.g. Húsavík, Fuglafjørþur, Miþvágur, Tórshavn (the capital), Mykines. Similar names are typical of western Norway, for obvious reasons. Of the toponymic series mentioned above, only CSc -bōR (= -by) is common, e.g. Kirkjubøur.

(7) In Iceland the Landnámabók is a rich source of information about the first name-giving, though the explanations may be fanciful at times; most of the names listed there are still in use. The older toponymic names like -win, -pueit, or -setr were obsolete or unfashionable, while newer ones like -rup had no application. The favorites for independent farms were -stapiR (with 1,165 farms), e.g. Hofstapir temple place, but mostly named after a person, e.g. Grimsstapir; -bōR (> -bær), e.g. Arbær brook farm; and some nature suffixes like -dalur valley, -nes headland, -holt thicket, and -fell mountain. A large number of smaller places were later set apart and given less prestigious names ending in -kot hut, -gerpi field, -hús house and -sel summer outfarm.

Changes in naming customs were few in the old rural society, so that the farm names here presented often have remained to the present as typical of each country. Some of the farms grew to become towns and cities, e.g. Bjorg-win mountain meadow Bergen, Ās-lōar meadow of the gods Oslo, Ār-ōs river mouth Århus, Haderslev Hather's heritage, Eskilstuna Eskil's farm. Others became the basis of the family naming customs of modern times, especially in Norway and Sweden (12.5).

9.6 Texts. These illustrative passages from runic inscriptions of the CSc period relate to the preparation and purpose of writing. The first two are in the older futhark, the rest in the younger; they are arranged chronologically. The references are to the standard collections for Denmark (DR), Sweden (province initials, e.g. Ög Östergötland)

and Norway (N). Each text appears in runic transcription, transliteration, normalization and translation.

## (a) Sweden 1: A curse on vandals





ubArAbAsbA // hAidRrunoronu / fAlAhAkhAiderAg / inArunAR-ArAgeu / hAerAmAlAusR / utiARwelAdAude / sARbAtbArutR

Ūþarða-spā! HeiðR-rūnōro nū falhk heðra, ginna-rūnaR. Ergiu hearma-lausR, ūti æR wēla-dauðe, sāR þat brytR.

Prophecy of danger! Runes of honor I now conceal here, runes of power. Pursued by perversity, exposed to a miserable death, will he be who destroys this (monument).

(Björketorp, monumental stone, c. 675; Krause 97, DR 360; reading by N. Å. Nielsen, 1968.)

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## (b) Norway 1: Magic protection for a gravestone



Ni's solu sott ok ni saksi steinn skorinn . . . alu misyrki! Not struck by the sun and not cut by sword is the stone . . . a curse on the evil-doer!

(Eggjum, stone grave cover, c. 700; Krause 101; only beginning and end quoted here, see lower line of illustration.)

(c) Sweden 2: Memorial to a dead son



Aft Wēmōð standa rūnaR þaR. En Warinn fāði faðir eft feigjan sunu . . .

After Wemod stand these runes. But Warinn drew (them), the father after (his) dead son.

(Rök, monumental stone, ninth century; Ög 136.) (Only first two lines, total of 725 runes.)

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## (d) Denmark 1: The alphabet as magic

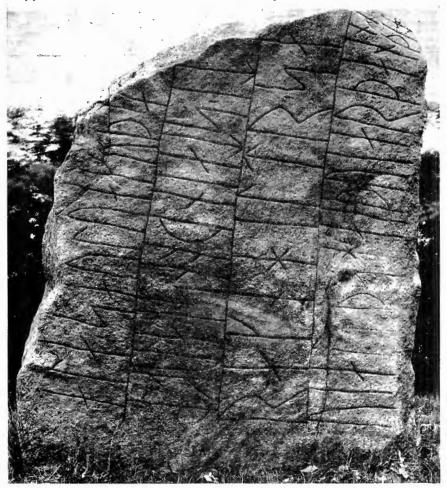


þjoðvi reisþi steinn þannsi eft Öðinkar. FuþarkhniastblmR. Njūt wel kumls. Þistill mistill kistill. Jak satta rūna rētt. Gunni, ArmundR...

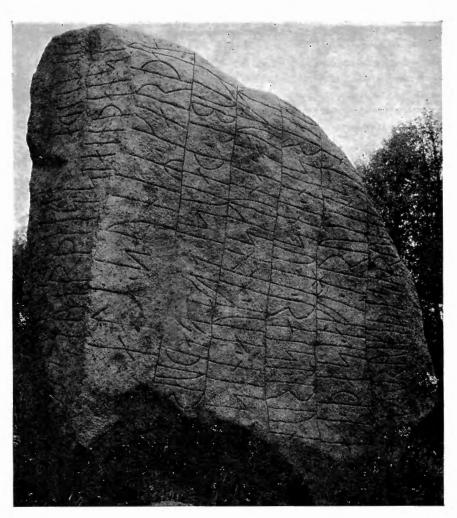
Thjodvi raised this stone for Odinkar. FuþarkhniastblmR. Enjoy your memorial well. Thistill mistill kistill [magic formula]. I set the runes rightly. Gunni, ArmundR...

(Gørley, monumental stone, early ninth century; DR 239.)

(e) Denmark 2: Memorial to a husband and father



TEXTS 175



raknhiltr - sa/ti - stainþansi - auft'/ala - sauluakuþa / uial(i)þs haiþuiar þanþia / kn // ala - suniR - karþu / kubl - þausi - aft - faþur / sin - auk - hans - kuna - auft / uar - sin - in - suti - raist - run/aR - þasi - aft - trutin - sin / þur - uiki - þasi - runaR // at - rita -sa - uarþi - isstainþansi / ailti - iþa aft - anan - traki

Ragnhildr satti steinn þannsi eft Alla solwa, goða wēa, liðs heiðrwerðan þegn. Alla syniR gerðu kumbl þausi eft faður sinn ok

hans kona eft wer sinn, en Sōti reist rūnaR þessi eft drōttinn sinn. Þōrr wīgi þessi rūnaR! At rētti sa werði, es steinn þannsi elti eða eft annan dragi.

Ragnhild erected this stone for Alli the dark, priest of the shrines, honored chief of the host. Alli's sons made this memorial for their father, and his wife for her husband, while Soti carved these runes for his master. May Thor consecrate these runes! May he become a dastard who overturns this stone or drags it away for someone else! (Glavendrup, monumental stone, c. 900; DR 209.)

## (f) Denmark 3: A royal monument



 TEXTS 177

uan - tanmaurk // ala - auk - nuruiak // - auk - tani [-] (karþi) [-] kristną

HaraldR konungR bað gorwa kumbl þausi eft Gorm faður sinn ok eft þorwi möður sīna, sā Haraldr es sēR wann Danmork alla ok Norweg, ok dani gerði kristna.

King Harald bade this monument be built for Gorm his father and for Thyra his mother—that Harald who won all Denmark and Norway for himself and made the Danes Christians.

(Jelling 2, decorated monumental stone, 983-5; DR 42.)

(g) Norway 2: In commemoration of a daughter



Inscription and Ornamentation



End of Inscription (detail)

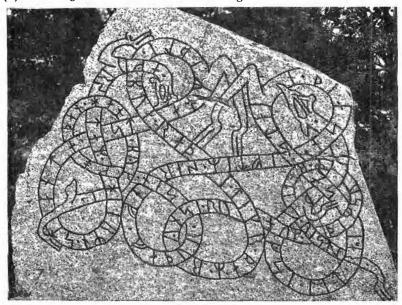
Gunnwor gerði brū, Þrÿðrīks döttir, eftir Āstrīði, döttur sīna. Sū was mēr hannarst ā Haðalandi.

Gunnvor, daughter of Thrydrik, made a bridge in memory of Astrid her daughter. She was the most skilful maiden in Hadeland. (Dynna, decorated monumental stone, c. 1040; N 68.)

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## (h) Sweden 3: Runemaster Balli's challenge to the reader



Viðhugsi lēt reisa stein þennsa eftiR Sēreib, faður sinn göðan. Hann byggi ī Agurstaðum. Her mun standa steinn miðli býja. Rāði drengR þaR rýnn se runum þeim sum Balli risti.

Vidhugsi had this stone erected for Særeif, his good father. He lived in Ågersta. Here the stone shall stand between the villages. Let any man who is skilled in runes read the runes that Balli carved.

(Ågersta, monumental stone, 1050-75; U 729.)

#### References

9.1 From Tribes to Kingdoms. Kendrick (1930) is informative, but dated; the best current survey is by Brøndsted (1965). There are numerous books on the Vikings and their culture, some of them beautifully illustrated.

- 9.2 Written Sources. Scandinavian words loaned to other peoples are listed in Vries (1961), Introduction; see also Gorog's critique (1964). Influences in Slavic were studied by Tamm (1882), in Celtic by Henderson (1910) and Marstrander (1915). For the deposit in Norman French see Gorog (1958); supplementary articles by the same author are listed in the LB for 1959, 1961, 1962. The classic treatment of influence on English is by Björkman (1900–2); for a bibliography see Skautrup 1. 320–1. Place-names in England were studied by Ekwall (1924) and others. The runic inscriptions of Denmark are handsomely published in a definitive edition by L. Jacobsen and E. Moltke (3 vols., 1941–2). The Norwegian inscriptions have appeared in a fine publication by M. Olsen (5 vols., 1941–60). The Swedish inscriptions began appearing in a series edited by Sven Söderberg and Erik Brate in 1900, which is not yet complete. The Icelandic inscriptions were published by Bæksted (1942), and those of the other Norwegian colonies by Olsen (1954).
- 9.3 The Younger Futhark. Among those who have written on the puzzling development from the older to the younger futhark are the Prague phonologist B. Trnka (1939), P. Diderichsen (1945), H. Andersen (1947), K. M. Nielsen (1960), E. Antonsen (1963), B. Loman (1965b), E. Haugen (1969). Friesen's volume (6) in NoKu, with contributions by M. Olsen and others, was once standard. A study is specially devoted to the short-branch runes by Johnsen (1968).
- 9.4 Common Scandinavian. There is no CSc grammar, but Noreen's Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik (1923) and his Altschwedische Grammatik (1904) together with his Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen (1913: 67–109) cover the ground for phonology and morphology. Syntax is treated in Nygaard (1905) and Wessén SSpr 3 (1965b). Skautrup's account in his DSH 1 (1944), chs. 2–3, is extremely useful.
- 9.5 The Lexicon. For the vocabulary of this period Hellquist is most useful because he has assembled the native stems in his study of the Sw lexicon (1929–32); see also Skautrup's survey (1. 60–78) of the vocabulary for each sphere of life. The etymological dictionaries (Falk and Torp, Hellquist, Jóhannesson, de Vries, N. Å. Nielsen, etc.) are the chief handbooks for a study of word origins. Personal names are the topic of vol. 7 of NoKu ed. by Assar Janzén (1948), with contributions by Ivar Lindquist, Rikard Hornby and Sven Ekbo. Recent handbooks of Sw personal names are Modéer (1964) and Otterbjörk (1964). Place-names are dealt with in vol. 5 of NoKu ed. by Magnus Olsen (1939), with contributions by experts for each language represented. Sw place-names are surveyed in handbook form more recently by Ståhl (1970), with a large bibliography, and by Pamp (1970), with useful maps. Da place-names are presented in Hald (1965b).

# The Middle Ages (1050–1350): Old Scandinavian

to. Thurch and State. The establishment in Scandinavia of the Catholic Church in its Roman version brought the former tribesmen of the north into the concert of Europe. The universality to which the Church laid claim was symbolized and furthered by the Latin language of its writings and services. The awe surrounding the mysteries of religion rubbed off on the language and gave those who mastered it a high prestige, which endured down to early modern times. Latin became the first 'teacher language' to Scandinavia, as it was to the rest of western Europe in the Middle Ages. As such its influence was observable at many levels, often transmitted indirectly through other languages more easily available to the unlearned. The clergy brought with them the learning of Europe, not only religious but also secular, and it eventually became one of their tasks to transmute its contents into the native languages.

It is significant that the establishment of the new Church is dated by the conversion of the kings, for the Church was deeply involved in the political development: the kings protected the Church, while the Church legitimized the kings. Clergy and royalty as representatives of spiritual and secular power co-operated when their interests coincided, fought when they clashed. The Church was supranational, the kingship national, and there were many opportunities for conflict. In the Middle Ages the old Roman empire was gone, but a new one arose with its power base in Germany, adding to its title the word 'Holy' as a reminder of its Christian attachment. Scandinavia was beyond the fringe of this empire, resisting its encroachment whenever possible, deeply influenced by it and simultaneously reacting against it.

Adam of Bremen reported around 1076 that there were 550 churches in Denmark alone, so it is no wonder that the first Scandi-

navian archbishopric was established at Lund in 1104. In 1152 a separate Norwegian archbishopric was created in Trondheim (Nidaros), and in 1164 a Swedish one in Uppsala. These divisions of the universal Church clearly reflected the political division of Scandinavia into a Danish, Norwegian and Swedish kingdom: one king, one archbishop. The religious and the secular administrations were built up together and with parallel organizations. At the same time the Church became the first official educator by establishing cathedral and monastery schools from 1100 on, under the auspices of the Benedictine, Augustinian, Cistercian, Franciscan, Dominican and other orders. Their teachers and students were the first international class in Scandinavia, enjoying free exchange of studies with all the rest of Europe, but especially with Paris and its famous university. Scandinavian universities were not established until late in the fifteenth century, Uppsala in 1477 and Copenhagen in 1479.

10.1.1. The kings were less inclined than the clergy to view their problems from an international angle, since secular power was (and is) a local and precarious thing. Each of the royal houses had its internal as well as external threats to meet. All of Scandinavia was threatened from time to time by the German emperors, but from 1150 on even more directly by the commercial supremacy of the Hanseatic League. Within Scandinavia Denmark was the leading power throughout most of this period, from the time of its hegemony in England under Knut the Great to the union of all Scandinavia under its sceptre in the 1380s. A succession of able rulers, most of them named Valdemar, succeeded in welding together the scattered parts of the Danish kingdom (including most of what is now southern Sweden), keeping the Norwegians and Swedes at bay, and staving off the Germans by campaigns in northern Germany (holding briefly areas as far south as Hamburg and Lübeck and as far east as Pomerania, Esthonia and Gotland). In Norway the royal power also flourished under the Ólafs and Hákons who succeeded the sainted Ólaf Haraldsson after his death in 1030. Norwegian expansion was largely westward, in an effort to maintain the viking hold on the islands off Great Britain and to assert sovereignty over Iceland and Greenland. In Iceland a republic succeeded in surviving down to 1262, when internal dissension permitted the sovereignty to fall ripely into the lap of the Norwegian kings. In Sweden there was constant frustration over such outlying areas as south Sweden and Gotland, where Danes and Germans threatened; but expansion into Finland was easy, and expeditions of conquest could now be organized under the name of 'crusades'. The result was the incorporation of Finland into Sweden from the beginning of the thirteenth century. The most truly medieval period in Swedish history is that of the Folkung dynasty from 1250 to 1389, initiated by Earl Birger, who established Stockholm and made it the seat of a strong central government. During some periods of their existence all of these governments were plagued by civil war among the princes and the noblemen, all of whom were looking for a piece of the power. But the kings showed their power by replacing the old local law codes with national laws, Norway in 1274, Sweden in 1350.

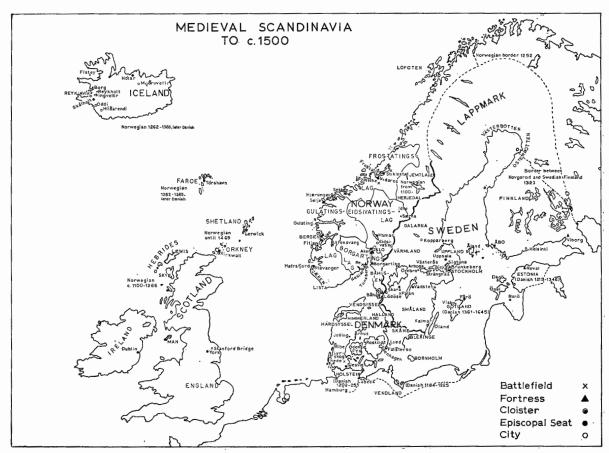
Curiously enough, none of the kings was powerful enough to establish his rule throughout Scandinavia, although that was an obvious enough ideal. When union did come about, it was by a series of dynastic alliances; through intermarriage the royal families became one, and the day arrived when a daughter of the Danish king was the only living heir to the thrones of Norway and Sweden. This happened in 1387, when the enterprising and far-sighted Margaret, daughter of the Danish king Valdemar III, wife of the Norwegian Hákon VI, became both 'lord and lady' of the three Scandinavian countries, virtually by default. But the union was not adequately prepared, and there were no organs that could effectively govern so large and diverse a region, so that it was doomed to dissolution. Eventually Scandinavia would go back to its major divisions as these had been established by the end of the Viking Age.

that were to be of the highest linguistic importance. Beside the clergy, who were of various ranks and in some degree outside the social order, there were the peasants, the nobles and the burghers. The peasants made up the bulk of the population, but their freedom of movement as well as their participation in national affairs was highly restricted. They formed the stable base of society, living on or near the soil they tilled or the sea they exploited. In the more fertile parts of Denmark and Sweden they lived in villages that were virtually self-contained units, many of them feudally controlled. In the more rugged parts of Sweden and Norway they lived on individual farms that were included within a parish or a township. The villages and the parishes became distinct speech communities as time went on, each with its own dialec-

tal variety of the original language. Where feudalism got a foothold, a class of nobles arose, growing out of the old chieftain stratum, but unlike the latter remote from the people, living off its labor and exploiting it on behalf of its own power politics. The nobles formed the king's immediate support and his potential rivals, changing allegiance from one king to the other as the winds blew. As members of the royal court their rank was undisputed.

Between the aristocracy and the peasants stood the class of burghers, leaders in the new towns that were built around commerce. The Vikings had been active traders, but except for a few minor centers like Heiðaby in Schleswig, Birka in Sweden and Skíringssal in the Oslo fjord, they did not establish towns. Now a new kind of commerce spawned cities like Visby in Gotland, Kalmar and Stockholm in Sweden, Copenhagen in Denmark and Bergen in Norway. Not coincidentally, these cities were also strongly colored by German influence. There outposts were established by the growing Hanseatic League, founded by Lübeck through agreements with Hamburg, Bremen and other German cities in the thirteenth century. The energy and efficiency of this early cartel monopoly gave it virtually undisputed domination of Scandinavian commerce between 1250 and 1450. The Hanseatic dominance not only delayed the growth of a native burgher class, but also led to extensive immigration of German speakers and a long-term prestige for MLG in the larger cities of Scandinavia. The kings of Denmark tried to resist the encroachment, but their defeat at the hands of the League in 1370 led to the peace of Stralsund, which gave the Hansa back its domination of the Baltic and the North Sea. MLG was used in many city councils and registers of the leading Nordic cities. The contact situation was the more dangerous for the native tongues since of all medieval Gmc dialects Low German was linguistically closest to Scandinavian, which made it easy to learn and imitate. The prestige of MLG affected primarily the middle class, but it also had a sizable group of nobles behind it, especially in the disputed border area between Germany and Denmark in Schleswig-Holstein.

The kings, the nobles, the clergy and the wealthier burghers were privileged classes, with freedom to communicate beyond their local community. Their isolation from the peasants enabled them not only to learn foreign languages, but also to develop new regional and national norms of their own language. This was the period in which



Map 8

the Scandinavians succeeded in establishing their first writing traditions along general European lines. The national kingdoms were, after all, based on a native population that could not be reached either through the Latin of the clergy or the Low German of the traders. They needed native laws for their government and native devotions for religious edification: these were the areas of first official use of the Scandinavian languages in writing.

10.2 Clerks and Manuscripts. The Church brought with it a tradition of manuscript writing that was new to the north and proved to have inestimable value both for Church and Government. As far as we can see, all the early clerks were clerics, and their first skill was in the writing of Latin. The composition and copying of manuscripts on parchment was already an old tradition in the Church. The first books brought to Scandinavia were Latin missals and other books useful in the service. In the first century or so of its existence in Scandinavia the Church did virtually all of its writing in Latin, and the chanceries of the royal courts, which were manned by clerics, did the same. Under a succession of gifted archbishops the cathedral chapter of Lund became a center of book production, with a large library, including even translations of the local laws as well as a collection of obituaries and religious statutes known as the Necrologium Lundense (1120-30). The oldest preserved written document in Norden is King Erik's gift of deed to the cathedral in Lund from 1135 (in Latin). The Latin tradition in Denmark found its climax in the huge history of Danish kings, the Gesta Danorum, which one of Bishop Absalon's clerks, Saxo Grammaticus, composed between 1185 and 1219. There were also numerous saints' legends, historical chronicles and diplomas in Latin, but these pale before King Valdemar's Liber Census Daniæ, which lists the estates of the whole country, thereby furnishing an immense treasury of native names for the period around 1231 (Skautrup 1. 198-107).

10.2.1. Well before this time, writing on parchment in the native languages was far advanced in western Scandinavia, in Norway and Iceland. One reason for this was the influence of English missionaries, who had already been writing their native language for some centuries. There are grounds for believing that in Norway the writing of laws began under King Ólaf Kyrri (1066–93), but the oldest preserved fragments of these are a century later. Under stimulus from

Norway the first Icelandic laws were written in 1117–18, but here, too, the earliest fragments are from the second half of the century. The bits and pieces still preserved of Norwegian and Icelandic writing between 1150 and 1200 are typical of the first and most pressing needs of Church and Government: laws, sermons, legends, property and tax lists. The most important of these is the Norwegian Book of Homilies (AM 619 40), dated about 1200. In Denmark the writing of Danish laws began in the years 1171–4 under King Knud VI and Valdemar II Sejr, but the oldest known manuscript in Danish (the Scanian Law) dates from about 1250. In Sweden the oldest is a fragment of the older West Götaland Law of about the same time, though the law was probably first written c. 1200. The twelfth century is the breakthrough for Nordic writing, even if most of the manuscripts are from the thirteenth, or even later centuries; nearly all the early documents we have are copies.

10.2.2. In the flood of writing that now poured forth from the scriptoria of all the Nordic countries the laws occupy pride of place. They were among the first and most massive documents to be put on parchment, and for the continental Scandinavians they provided about the only bridge between their Nordic past and the medieval present. The laws were not decrees of the royal power, nor translations of Roman law, but orally composed rules of justice that owed their first formulation to the decisions of the popular assemblies known as things (Ståhle 1959). They opened with the enunciation of a general formula still cited in Scandinavia as typical of Nordic legalism: Með log skall land byggjast By law shall the land be built. They cite cases and provide decisions, as these had been promulgated, memorized and proclaimed generation after generation, in a memorable, chiseled form that often has the lilt of poetry (Gustafson 1961: 21-3). Since Christianity some laws had been changed, and a Church law added, but the bulk of the laws remained. The codices were characteristically attached to particular regions of each country, where the people had a representative Thing of their own. For this reason the laws provide some evidence for regional features of the language in which they are written, even though these are often obscured by copying. The chief laws are (with one important MS for each):

1. The Gulathing Law (Codex Rantzovianus; c. 1250) Norway, probably from Bergen

- 2. The Frostathing Law (1250-75, fragment) Norway, probably from Trondheim
- 3. Grágás (Codex Regius g. s. 1157; c. 1260–70) Iceland 4. The Skåne Law (Stockholm MS B 76; c. 1300) from Lund, (then) Denmark
- 5. The Sjælland Law (Eriks sjællandske lov, AM 455, 12°; c. 1300) Denmark
- 6. The Jylland Law (Flensborg MS; c. 1300) Denmark
  7. The West Götaland Law (Cod. Holm. B 59; 1281-90) Sweden

- 8. The Uppland Law (Cod. Ups. L. 12; 1300) Sweden
  9. The Södermanland Law (Cod. Holm. B 53; c. 1327) Sweden
  10. The Dalecarlian Law (Cod. Holm. B 54; c. 1350) Sweden
  11. The East Götaland Law (Cod. Holm. B 50; c. 1350) Sweden
  12. The Hälsingland Law (Cod. Ups. L. 49; c. 1350) Sweden
  13. Magnus Eriksson's National Law (Cod. AM. 51, 4°; c. 1350) Sweden
- 14. The Law of Gotland (Cod. Holm. B 64; c. 1350) Sweden

The origin of the laws guarantees that we have in them specimens of a conservative language, founded on a native tradition only slightly diluted by outside influences. The laws are of course older than the MSS listed here: eleventh century in Norway, by 1117 in Iceland, by 1171 in Sjælland, between 1202 and 1216 in Skåne, by 1225 in Sweden and 1241 in Jutland.

10.2.3. Outside of Iceland most of the remaining literature consisted of translations, reflecting a newer and more international European current of thought and style. The Church not only provided for its material aspects by deeds and property lists, but also such important genres as collections of sermons, saints' legends, prayers and such edifying dialogs as 'The Quarrel of the Body and Soul'. In Norway or Iceland a portion of the Bible was translated, now known as Stjórn 'government' (c. 1320, but see now Selma Jónsdóttir 1971). About the only original material in this category are two preserved fragments of the famous revelations of the Sw St. Birgitta in her own hand (1360-7); see reading below, p. 233.

The popular leech books of Henrik Harpestreng, a Da canon and medic (d. 1244), were compilations of medical and culinary information (Stockholm K 48; c. 1300). A large number of official documents or charters ('diplomas') are preserved, which have the advantage

over most other MSS of being precisely dated and localized. The Nw charters from the bishops of Bergen (1300-50) reveal an active cultural and ecclesiastical life (Berulfsen 1948). A more secular trend in translation grew stronger in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. King Hákon Hákonsson of Norway (who ruled from 1217 to 1263) combined an interest in older native traditions with the promotion of entertaining translations, chiefly from the French, including stories of Parcival, Ywain, Erec, Tristram and other Arthurian characters. Favorites were the lays of Marie de France, translated as Strengleikar (c. 1230). A major work in this genre was Karlamagnús Saga based on the Song of Roland and Thiðrik's Saga of Bern based on German stories from the Nibelung cycle, both written about 1250.

ro.2.4. In Denmark and Sweden, as we have seen, most original writing was in Latin, but in Norway and Iceland the native language became the vehicle of one of the most creative literatures of the Middle Ages. Most of it was due to the amazing literary activity of the Icelanders, in close contact with and to a great extent dealing with materials derived from Norway, which they continued to feel as their motherland even during the life of the Icelandic republic. Only one major work was purely Nw, the anonymous Konungs Skuggsjá or Speculum Regale (c. 1250), a 'mirror for kings' which in dialog form conveys information and advice from father to son, both of whom are obviously of high station. Among other things he advises his son that one should learn the customs and the languages of other people, especially Latin and French, 'the two languages that go farthest', but at the same time one should 'not neglect one's own tongue'.

The translation of saints' legends found its natural continuation in the hagiography of the founder of the Norwegian church, St. Ólaf, whose 'sagas' became the special concern of the Norwegian and Icelandic clergy. In artistically refined form the saga of King Ólaf was retold by the Ic chieftain and poet Snorri Sturluson as the central third of his History of the Norwegian Kings, popularly known as Heimskringla (c. 1230). Snorri's work was preceded by a generation of learned Icelanders in the first half of the twelfth century, the most famous of whom is Ari fróði ('the learned'), 1067–1148. Ari and his contemporaries brought European learning to Iceland, but they were also the first Scandinavians to write this learning in their own language. They diligently studied and translated a wide spectrum of Latin learning and narrative, but they also wrote the history and

genealogy of their own people and of their mother country (Turville-Petre 1953). To quote Turville-Petre (p. 142), 'It is unlikely that the sagas of kings and of Icelanders, or even the sagas of ancient heroes, would have developed as they did unless several generations of Icelanders had first been trained in hagiographic narrative.'

It is not necessary here to recount the contents of the Icelandic literature of the Middle Ages, which can be found in any history of that topic (e.g. Stefán Einarsson 1957). Manuscripts are numerous, including some of great size and elaborate ornateness, such as the Möðruvallabók (Cod. AM. 132, fol.; c. 1350), the Flateyjarbók (Cod. Reg. g. s. 1005; 1387-94), etc., which are now available in facsimile editions in the Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi of Munksgaard (Copenhagen 1930-55). The genres represented in this fascinating blend of traditional and original writing include (a) the Poetic Edda, a collection of mythical and heroic poems from the pagan period, (b) the Prose Edda (c. 1220) of Snorri Sturluson, an antiquarian compilation of poetics and pagan mythology, (c) the Skaldic poetry which is scattered through the Prose Edda and the sagas as illustrations of poetics and history respectively, (d) sagas of Norwegian and other Scandinavian kings, including Snorri's Heimskringla as the most famous, (e) sagas of Icelanders, telling of the first two centuries of settlement in Iceland and the family feuds that arose, (f) fabulous narratives of all kinds, some (the fornaldarsogur) of the Nordic North, others translations of well-known European chivalric romances, (g) annals, bishops' sagas and other detailed accounts of recent or contemporary history, (h) a respectable learned literature, including astronomical, medical, linguistic and legal treatises.

10.2.5. The manuscripts clearly reflect the growth of dialectal divergencies in Norden, but we cannot yet speak of distinct national languages. The number of places where manuscripts were produced was still small, and each major center had its own tradition of writing. The extent to which these traditions represent actual speech is moot, since scribes (at least in the Middle Ages) did not usually write as they spoke, but as they had been taught to write. There were no general norms and no spelling books, so it is hard to tell when a scribe is following a norm and when or why he is deviating from it. The fact that most of the manuscripts are copies adds the further problem that the copyist often revised the language (and even the contents) of his model without notice and without consistency. Far-reaching

conclusions have been drawn concerning the provenience of scribes on the basis of their mistakes (usually so-called reverse spellings). For our purposes their norms rather than their errors are of interest.

The following fairly distinct norms afford us a glimpse of the growing division and make possible the localization and dating of manuscripts: (a) In Norway the early MSS are localizable either to Nidaros (now Trondheim), the seat of the archbishop (from 1152) and of some kings, or to Bergen, the favorite residence of the kings in the thirteenth century. In 1299 Hákon V made Oslo his capital and moved the royal chancery to that city. The norm continues to be a West Norwegian one, but with some East Norwegian elements. (b) In Iceland the chief centers of learning are the bishops' residences at Skálholt and Hólar, plus the chieftain's seat at Oddi; but they show virtually no deviations among themselves. (c) In Denmark Lund was the center of a Scanian tradition, which shows a more conservative language than that of Siælland and especially of Jylland. The establishment of Copenhagen under Valdemar I did not lead to a fixed place of residence either for the king or his chancery, but the central position of Siælland in the kingdom gradually led to the predominance of the Sjælland norm. The greatest innovations took place in Jylland (Ribe, Arhus), but these, too, tended to be eliminated in copying. (d) In Sweden the central tradition in the early years was in Ostergötland (Vadstena), with only minor deviations in the neighboring regions. Only Västergötland had a strong separate tradition, which in many respects approaches ONw, as we might expect. In Gotland, however, the tradition was so deviant from OSw that we must speak of a separate dialect, Old Gutnish (OGu).

There are, then, five identifiably different writing traditions (with many subvarieties): ONw (Trondheim vs. Oslo), OIc, ODa (Jylland, Zealand, Scania), OSw (Östergötland, Västergötland), OGu. Of these the ONw and OIc are close enough together so that one can speak of a common Old West Scandinavian writing tradition (OWSc), while ODa and OSw represent a number of innovations that may be said to characterize Old East Scandinavian (OESc). These occur in a scale that moves stepwise from Jylland over Sjælland and Skåne to Västergötland and Östergötland to Uppland. The ODa and OSw traditions are often difficult to tell apart in the early years of this period. OGu does not share all the innovations of OESc, and has some of its own.

10.3 The Runic Tradition. During the Middle Ages the new Roman alphabet did not succeed in ousting the runes from their position as the alphabet of the Nordic peoples. For the most part the Roman letters were confined to parchment writing, an expensive and elaborate record made by learned men. The evidence now suggests that for all other forms of writing, which we may sum up as *epigraphic*, the runes were not only preferred, but were generally known and read by every sector of the population, high and low. Runic letters, with their straight lines and clear-cut shapes, could be carved, scratched or chiseled on any material with the simplest of instruments. One might have supposed that the Church would discourage this remnant from pagan times, which by many was associated with esoteric magic. But the Church was pragmatic and adopted the runes for many of its own outward displays, for example on gravestones and baptismal fonts, which were for the edification of the common people. The church year was taught through the medium of rune calendars, notched sticks in which the dominical letters were runic and the ordering of the futhark was used to represent the golden numbers. In the decade 1065-75 coins with runic letters were minted by the Da and Nw kings. Valdemar II of Denmark personally taught an Icelandic poet a reformed runic futhark of his own (prob. c. 1239-40). At Lund attempts were made to introduce runes into parchment writing around 1300, but this experiment was not repeated, and there is no evidence for the fantasies of some (e.g. Björn M. Olsen, Runerne i den oldislandske literatur) that runes were used for manuscript writing in Iceland or elsewhere in the first period of writing. The runes were everyman's alphabet down to the time when manuscripts became more widely available through the invention of paper and later of printing. In some remote areas (Dalecarlia, Telemark) they even survived into modern times.

**10.3.1.** We have seen (9.3.8) how the phonetic inadequacies of the younger futhark were gradually remedied. By the time of the Da and Nw coins just mentioned the most common dotted runes were in general use. In the medieval inscriptions more were added as carvers felt a need for them, e.g. in Gotland a dotted  $\langle l \rangle$  and  $\langle n \rangle$  appeared to mark a special dental quality ( $\uparrow \not l$ ). Carvers were usually quite sovereign with regard to their use of the dots, which like all diacritics were easily forgotten. It is worth pointing out that the numerous futharks preserved from the Middle Ages do not include the dotted

runes as part of the alphabet proper. They were not thought of as new symbols, but merely as variants of the old that could be produced by the one simple rule of dotting. Nor did the carvers of futharks ever alter their order of the runes from the traditional one, beginning with  $\langle f \rangle$  (an exception is the Øster-Marie stone, DR 390, which is clearly post-medieval). The alphabetical lists of medieval runes found in some handbooks (e.g. DR 773 or KL 14. 476) are of modern construction. This is another reason for regarding theories of alphabetic influence in the expansion of the runic futhark with some suspicion. The ordering into families was essential also for the writing of 'secret' runes (kvistruner 'branch runes'), which continued to be popular. It is also worth noting that a number of Latin inscriptions were carved in runes.

10.3.2. After 1050 the custom of erecting memorial stones disappeared in Denmark, though it was only introduced at this time in Bornholm and continued to flourish in Sweden. Instead, there are some twenty-five gravestones, with typically Christian inscriptions, often with a mixture of native and Latin terms, with Ave Marias and paternosters in the original. Church builders commemorated their accomplishments with elaborate runic inscriptions: Krist Mario sun hia[l]pi pem ær kirku p[essa] [g]erp[o], Absalon ærkibiskup ok Æsbiorn muli Christ, son of Mary, help them who built this church, Archbishop Absalon and Æsbjorn Muli (Norra Åsum, DR 347; c. 1200). Magnificent baptismal fonts are texted in runic letters (S. Jansson 1963: 172 ff.), usually including the name of the maker. One Danish and more than a score of Swedish church bells bear runic inscriptions of religious dedication. An iron chandelier in Väte church (Gotland) from the thirteenth century bears a handsome inscription blessing its giver. The ornamented door of Valbjófsstaðir church in Iceland bears a long runic inscription. Less formal messages were carved on the walls of churches by workmen and worshippers, especially the tempting wooden walls of the Norwegian stave churches. The most interesting of these is dated on the day but not the year and involves a well-known historical figure who fled to Vinje in Telemark c. 1200: Sigurbr ialssun ræist runar bes[s]ar lougardagen æftir botolfsmæs[slo er [h]an flybi hi[n]gat ok uildi æigi ga[n]ga til sæt[t]ar uib Suærri foburbana sin ok brøbra Sigurd Jarlsson carved these runes on Saturday after St. Botolph's mass [17 June], when he fled here and would not make peace with Sverrir, the killer of his father and brothers.

In the same church a corresponding panel contains a carefully carved skaldic poem by another historical character, probably Sigurd Jarlsson's friend, Harald Grenske. This reminds one of the report in Egils Saga of the skaldic poem which Egill carved on a pole mounted with a horse's head and planted in the ground as a curse on his enemy King Eirik Bloody-Axe, about 946. Such verses are well known in the Sw inscriptions (S. Jansson 1963: 131-45), where they testify to an otherwise almost unknown tradition of Swedish skaldic composition. The discovery of such verse among the Nw inscriptions found in Bergen in recent years adds to the evidence for a strong skaldic tradition long after it had been supposed lost on the mainland, since the Ic manuscripts have preserved mostly the works of Ic skalds.

The Bergen finds, dating from 1150 to 1350, were excavated beneath the quay where the daily trade and commerce of the city took place. The more than six hundred inscriptions found so far were mostly carved on wooden objects which would normally have decayed. They offer an absolutely astonishing breadth of uses for the runes: name tags for marking ownership (Rannr a karn pætta Rannr [?Ragnar] owns this yarn), notes on commercial transactions, personal letters, futharks with or without magic intent, amulets, incantations, love poetry and just plain graffiti (Inkebork uni mer pa er ek uar i spafakr[i] Ingeborg loved me when I was in Stavanger NB 390; Liestøl 1962, 1964, 1968, 1970). This cross-section of medieval life throws a new light on the use of runes and explains similar, isolated finds in other Scandinavian countries, e.g. the thirteenth-century versified charm on the Danish Ribe stick (Moltke 1960).

10.3.3. Oddly enough, the runic inscriptions of Iceland have the least to offer, being few in number and nearly all of the churchly type listed above. The fact that sheepskin was cheap and men of learning closer to the people than on the mainland may have caused the Icelanders to turn to manuscript writing at once. The other Norwegian colonies show a much more liberal use of the runes. At Maeshowe in the Orkneys a group of Norsemen spent some time living in a Pictish barrow in the year 1170, and they had their fun inscribing about thirty messages on the walls, including a boast by one of them that pisar runar rist sa mapr er runstr er fyrir uæstan haf These runes were carved by that man who is most skilled in runes west of the [Norwegian] sea. Other inscriptions are found in Ireland, Scotland, the Shetlands, the Hebrides and in England. The Isle of

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Man has thirty-two texts, half of which are post-viking. The Norse colony in Greenland shows an astonishing forty inscriptions, including a wooden tablet to memorialize a woman who died on the way out: pæsi kona uar lagp firi borp i grønalas hafi er gupuih hit This woman, whose name was Guðveig, was put overboard in the Greenland sea. Greenland also has the northernmost inscription, the Kingiktorssuaq stone at 72° 58′ N, which tells of a visit there by Elling Sighvatsson, Bjarni Thorðarson and Einriði Oddsson on 25 April some time in the fourteenth century (M. Olsen 1932).

10.3.4. The very late Danish attempt (c. 1300) to replace the Roman script by runic in manuscript writing seems like an early instance of antiquarian interest. Of the two preserved manuscripts one is directly and the other at least indirectly copied from a manuscript in Roman script: Codex Runicus (AM 28, 8°), containing the Scanian Law, the Scanian Church Law and some other fragments, plus the first line of Danish balladry ever written down; the other a Planctus Mariae (Mariaklagen, SKB A 120). These were prepared in close proximity to the Danish court, perhaps commissioned by the king; we are reminded that some sixty years earlier King Valdemar II had taken enough interest in runes to suggest a reform and had made up his own mnemonic sentence containing all the runes: • KRILF1 TILL \* I FILD I INDI BILL Sprengt manns høk flybi tuui boll (the meaning is unclear). This is reported in the *Third* Grammatical Treatise of Iceland, probably written by a nephew of Snorri Sturluson, Ólafr hvítaskáld (ed. B. M. Ólsen, 1884), about the middle of the thirteenth century, who interested himself in runic lore. Swedish and Danish antiquarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries began writing about runes while the tradition was still living in some parts of their countries. In 1599 appeared the first manual of runology, by the Swedish scholar Johan Thomas Bureus. After this time one can never be quite sure that carvers do not have their runes from a book rather than from living tradition.

ro.4 The Latin Alphabet. Latin script came to Scandinavia primarily in the form of the prevalent Carolingian (also called Caroline) minuscule, a hand developed at the court of Charlemagne around A.D. 800. One can see this in *Dalbyboken* (GKS 1325, 4°), a gospel harmony from the mid eleventh century written at Dalby monastery near Lund; it is reputed to be the oldest manuscript in Scandinavia.

In Norway, however, a slightly different script known as the Anglo-Saxon Insular was brought to the archbishop's seat in Nidaros by English clerics. This was developed in England from the Irish alphabet and was used regularly in native English writing until after the Norman conquest, when it gradually yielded to an Anglo-Norman script based on the Carolingian. The ENw Insular influenced other WSc scripts and even the West Götaland script in Sweden, but the extent of this influence is uncertain, especially in OIc. H. Benediktsson (1965: 35) regards OIc writing as imported directly from the Continent, and therefore basically Carolingian. Only in the adaptation of the script to the native language will he admit some ONw and OE influence.

10.4.1. The Insular hand was distinguished from Carolingian chiefly by having special forms of  $\langle f \rangle \mp$ ,  $\langle g \rangle 3$ ,  $\langle r \rangle \vdash$  and  $\langle w \rangle \vdash$ , while the latter hand had forms more like our present (lower case) letters. The  $\langle w \rangle$  was runic (wen), as was the  $\langle b \rangle$  adopted to represent the interdental spirant. The fact that the latter is still known in Iceland by its OE name 'thorn' and not by its ON name 'thurs' reflects its origin in English usage. In Denmark the usual graph for this sound was (th), following OS usage. In the twelfth century ONw also adopted OE crossed  $d \langle \eth \rangle$  for the voiced b, and by 1200 this had spread to Iceland and West Götaland; some time later it disappeared, only to be revived in modern Ic and Fa in the nineteenth century. Another English tradition adopted in WSc was the extensive use of abbreviations, developed from a somewhat more modest use of them in Latin. These included acronymic shortenings like (k) (with a dot or a line above it) for konungr king or runic (m) Y for madr man; lines or curls above the letters (*titulus*) to represent an omitted nasal  $(\langle h\bar{o} \rangle \text{ for } hon \text{ she})$  or syllables containing  $r(\langle hef \rangle \rangle \text{ for } hefir \text{ has})$ ; traditional signs like 1 or ≥ to represent frequent words like ok and (originally Lat et, cf our &). Reading ONw or OIc manuscripts often requires extensive familiarity with the scribe's system of abbreviations, ultimately developed to save himself effort and his employer parchment.

10.4.2. The basis for applying the Latin alphabet to native languages was of course the current medieval pronunciation of Latin, as modified by the native sound systems of its users. Thus the old voiceless stop c [k] had become a palatal or dental affricate or fricative [ $\check{c}$  ts s] before front vowels, as in modern It *Cesare*, Ger *Cäsar*, Fr

César (and Eng Caesar). This 'palatal rule' led to the writing of  $\langle k \rangle$ before front vowels in early Sc, to keep the (k) from being pronounced as a palatal, while (c) was used in other positions. By 1200 this merely graphic alternation between \( c \rangle \) and \( \lambda k \rangle \) was evidently felt to be needless, and \( \) became the usual spelling in all positions (aside from some survivals of  $\langle c \rangle$  in final position or in clusters, e.g.  $\langle oc \rangle$  for ok and, or  $\langle ck \rangle$  for  $\langle kk \rangle$ , especially in OIc). The other stops, the nasals, the liquids and the obstruents (f s h) offered no serious problems, being usable with substantially the same values as in Latin. This was true also of the five Latin vowels (a e i o u), which corresponded to the PSc vowel system, including the use of (i u) as semivowels (non-syllabic allophones of the vowels). The letters  $\langle q \times z \rangle$  were strictly superfluous, but were often adopted for k (before u w), ks (gs), and ts (ds), respectively. This left  $\langle y \rangle$  of the twenty-three standard Latin letters, the 'y graeca' used in Latin only for Greek words containing vpsilon. In Sc this was sometimes used as a semivowel, but came to play a great role as the standard way of writing the i-umlaut of u.

**10.4.3.** This use of  $\langle y \rangle$  leads us to consider the two major areas in which standard Lat letters failed to meet the needs of Sc: the *umlaut vowels* and the *spirant consonants*. OE had already met the problem of the former by adopting diphthongs or ligatures of the standard vowels. These were visible reminders of the intermediate or blended phonetic quality of the umlauts. The Latin diphthong ae [ai] could be written  $\langle x \rangle$  or  $\langle x \rangle$  ( $x \rangle$  ( $x \rangle$  and  $x \rangle$  it became a low front monophthong, and this was adopted for the *i*-umlaut of  $x \rangle$  and the intermediate of the intermediate of the intermediate of the intermediate of  $x \rangle$  was originally a ligature of  $x \rangle$  and  $x \rangle$  it was suitable for the i-umlaut of  $x \rangle$  is such it appears already in King Knut's gift of deed to the cathedral at Lund (1085). OE had also developed various ways of combining  $x \rangle$  and  $x \rangle$  to make the sound  $x \rangle$ , e.g.  $x \rangle$  co on  $x \rangle$  and  $x \rangle$  in the last the hook is all that remains of the  $x \rangle$ .

The primary problem of the spirants was the non-Latin interdental. This was solved (as we have seen) by adopting runic  $\langle b \rangle$  from OE or  $\langle th \rangle$  from OS. The voiced allophone [ $\eth$ ] was at first written the same, but later came to be either  $\langle \eth \rangle$  or  $\langle dh \rangle$  (eventually  $\langle d \rangle$ ). The labial spirants  $[\phi \ b]$  were similarly written  $\langle f \rangle$  in all positions in OE, a practice adopted in OSc as well; but as the medial and final voiced

allophone [b] developed into a labiodental [v] and coincided with original [w], there was much confusion of writing, with  $\langle f v u w \rangle$  and combinations of these alternating according to taste. While [x] ceased to be a fricative, its voiced allophone [g], remained, and came to be written either  $\langle g \rangle$  or (in ESc)  $\langle gh \rangle$ .

10.4.4. Theoretical principles of orthography had been worked out by the Latin grammarians, but only one Sc treatise tried to apply these to writing in the native language (it was also the only in any medieval Gmc language). This is the *First Grammatical Treatise* (FGT), written in Iceland about 1150, as the first of four treatises appended to a later manuscript of Snorri Sturluson's Edda. The anonymous author is conveniently referred to as the First Grammarian (FG) (Haugen 1950, revised 1972). The FG found the practices of earlier scribes irrational and condemned those who 'don't care whether you write  $\varrho$  or a, e or  $\varrho$ , y or u. He convincingly showed that it did make a difference, first by producing minimal pairs like sar wound (sg.) vs. sqr wounds (pl.) for each of his proposed symbols, and then by embedding the words in sentences that established their meanings. In this thoroughly scientific way he identified what we would now call the phonemes of his language: nine vowels (long and short, nasal and oral), six diphthongs, and fourteen consonants. He proposed the characters  $\langle e \otimes y \rangle$  for the four non-Latin vowels, and suggested marking vowels with acute accents to show length, dots to show nasality. He accepted  $\langle b \rangle$  and  $\langle f \rangle$  for voiced and voiceless allophones,  $\langle g \rangle$  for stop and spirant allophones. He also adopted the Latin practice (unknown in Runic) of geminating long consonants (while suggesting that it would save space and time to write geminates as single small capitals, e.g.  $\kappa$  for kk). It is unclear just how much influence the FG had on contemporary OIc spelling, but it has been significant in the shaping of modern Ic. The FGT bears witness not only to the high level of scholastic learning in Iceland, but also to an intense interest in problems of the native language which has persisted down to the present.

10.4.5. No such treatise is known from the other Sc countries, and it is evident that most scribes wrote as they had been taught in their particular scriptorium. They certainly did not attempt to represent their personal pronunciation, but followed traditional models which (as we have seen) differed somewhat in various regions. When copying, they were often quite free in revising the orthography, but it is

uncertain to what extent these changes reflect actual speech. Regional differences may reflect differences among the available models, as well as slight deviations in the respective sound systems. ESc is less heterogeneous than WSc, except for the semi-independence of West Götaland and Gotland. West Nw (Bergen) is intermediate between East Nw (Nidaros) and OIc, but there is a trend toward a unified ONw form. East Nw wrote  $\langle o$  au  $ao \rangle$  for  $\varrho$ , while West Nw and OIc preferred  $\langle o$  av $\rangle$ . ONw favored  $\langle e$  for  $e/\varrho$ , OIc  $\langle e \rangle$ , as in the diphthong  $\varrho i$ , ONw  $\langle ei \rangle$ , OIc  $\langle ei \rangle$ . Other differences are listed below:

	Old West Scandinavian	Old East Scandinavian
y ø þ ð	y, sometimes u eo; OIc WNw also ø; ENw also ô b b; ONw ð (after 1200; later OIc)	y, sometimes i (ODa also u, v) ø (also å) ODa th; OSw þ, later th ODa th, later dh/d; OSw þ, later dh/d (WGö ð)
₽ w- -ħ/v	g u; ONw <b>/</b> f; ENw also u/v	gh (WGö, OGu g) w; also u, uu -f, -u/v- (OGu also -f-)

Consonant length was marked by gemination (or equivalent) in medial as well as final position in WSc, as a rule only medially in ESc. Vowel length was occasionally marked by accent (FGT) in WSc, but also by gemination (e.g. (aa, aa)); in ESc gemination is more frequent (blooth blood, aar year).

**10.4.6.** By the middle of the thirteenth century the Carolingian minuscule developed into the more angular Gothic hand, first in books and later in other documents. In the period of political union the handwriting became very much the same in all the Sc countries, at least in books. ONw had been a model for others in the thirteenth century, but in the fourteenth ODa patterns spread very widely. After 1250 a cursive form of Gothic developed for rapid writing, quite different from the book style, unique for each country and more difficult (for us) to read than the older script. Late medieval writing shows the influence of various foreign fashions, such as the ornamental doubling of letters (ffru) or the attachment of silent h (alth).

ro.5 The Old Scandinavian Dialects. Even during the preliterary period which we have labeled 'CSc', changes were going on that can only dimly be followed in the runic inscriptions. Some of them must be assumed to have spread throughout most of Scandinavia, though

at different rates, since they appear in all the OSc dialects. By the time of the MSS some of the CSc umlauts had merged with neighboring sounds:

- e = e segiR says > segir/ESc sægher; wegR way > vegr/ESc wæghr
- $\varrho = \varrho$   $\varrho$ ks axe  $> \varrho$ x;  $\varrho$ ksn oxen  $> \varrho$ xn
- $\bar{\varrho} = \bar{a} \ r\bar{\varrho} p \text{ counsels} > \text{ON } r\acute{a}\eth, \text{ also written } ro\eth; r\bar{a}p \text{ counsel the same}$
- $\tilde{\varrho}=\tilde{o}$  hõnum him dat. > hõnum; also after labial  $\bar{\varrho}>\bar{o}$ , e.g.  $kw\bar{\varrho}mu$  came pl. > kōmu

The inscriptions show that by 1050 nasal vowels were merging with oral in Denmark (as shown by confusion of  $\langle \tilde{a} \rangle$  and  $\langle a \rangle$ ), though they were still used in Ic in 1150 (FGT) and probably much later in some Nw and Sw dialects.

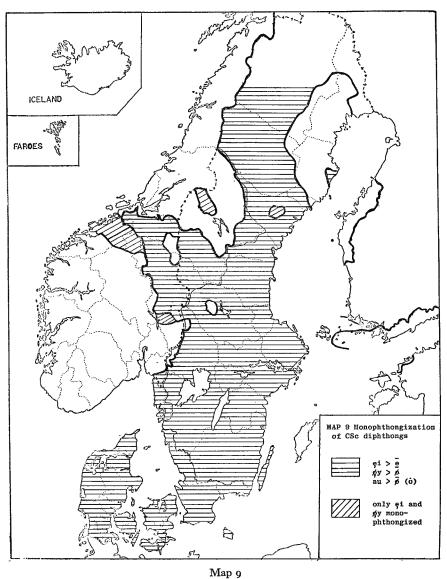
Consonantal mergers from the CSc period were: (a) R merged with r in ninth-century WSc inscriptions, but lingered into the eleventh century in ESc. (b) Bilabial  $\phi$  b > labiodental fv, e.g. haba > hava (written hafa); when w also > v, confusions resulted in writing, e.g. ON wfi/wvi age, from  $\bar{w}wi$  (OHG  $\bar{e}w\bar{i}$ , Gmc aiwin).

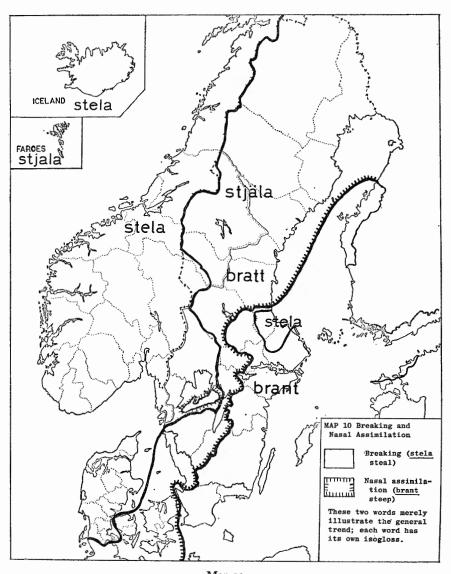
10.5.1. Other changes did not spread evenly throughout the area and became the first evidences of dialect splitting in Norden. Some of the earliest appear to have arisen as a result of a division of Norden into a western area where contact was sustained along the North Sea and Atlantic coasts and an eastern area where it was borne by the Baltic. Hesselman (1936) pointed out a breaking of Gmc  $\bar{e}_2$  in  $h\bar{e}r$ here (and secondarily er is) to ia (hiar, iar) which can be localized to southern Jutland, Blekinge in southern Sweden, Gotland, Dalarna and to certain north and east Sw dialects. It was his contention that this reflected contacts in Heibaby (Hedeby), the southernmost viking outpost in Jutland, with OS speakers, and the spread of their influence to Birka in Sweden along the south Swedish coast. Whether this particular change actually developed in this way or not, there were certainly a number of innovations in this period that split east from west, and have led to the assumption of a West vs. East Scandinavian. The terms are useful but can be misleading, since each isogloss has its own extension; a number of them failed to spread throughout the East Sc area (e.g. monophthongization), but conversely spilled over into West Sc (Norway). The terms are used chiefly to sum up some of the features that written OSw and ODa had in common as contrasted with written ONw and OIc.

10.5.2. These were some of the more important east-west iso-glosses:

CSc	WSc	Examples	ESc	Examples
(1) <i>ũ/õ</i>	ū	brū bridge būa dwell kū cow trū faith	õ	brō bōa kō trō
(2) <i>u</i> / <i>o</i>	o	bob order brot break holt woods	и	buþ brut hult
(3) ęi qu qy	ei au øy	reiþ rode lauss loose løysa loosen	ēøø	rēþ l <b>ē</b> s lēsa
(4) uml strV	uml	$sk\bar{y}tR$ shoots $skyti$ would shoot	-uml	skjūtr skuti
$-\operatorname{uml}/\!\!-\!\!R$	uml	$i g \bar{x} R$ yesterday	-uml	$i g \bar{a} R$
$-\operatorname{uml}/\!\!-\!Gi$	uml	degi day dat. sg. tekinn taken	-uml	takenn
(5) - brk	-brk	ek(a) I stela steal	brk	jak stjala
$(6)$ uml/ $\underline{u}$	uml	hondum hands dat. pl. sok case	-uml	handum sak
(7) e/gi, g	e	segja say gefa give	i	sighia giva
(8) $y/=G$ , $rC$	y	syngwa sing skyrta shirt	iu/io	siunga skiorta
(9) $a, o, u j$	a, o, u	hjarta heart mjolk milk fljuga fly v.	æ, ø, y	hjærta mjølk flyga
(10) N/_p, t, k	p, t, k	soppr mushroom brattr steep ekkja widow	m, n, n	svampr brantr ænkia
(11) -uminum	-unum	hestunum the horses dat. pl. def.	-umin	hestumin
(12) -iþ	-iþ/-ir	fariþ you (pl.) go (ONw farir)	-in	farin

Notes: Abbreviations used above are strV strong verbs, - minus (= absence of a feature), uml umlaut, brk breaking, G velar stop, C consonant, N nasal. (1) Original vowel uncertain, may go back to IE ablaut differences. WSw dialects agree with WSc. (2) A-umlaut worked out differently; WDa (Jutland) agrees with WSc ('the oldest Da isogloss' Skautrup 1. 37). (3) Monophthongization: soon after 900 in Da, central Sw by 1000; failed to reach Gu, Est, FiSw, much of NSw, but did affect some ENw and TNw (Map 9). (4) Palatal umlaut: ESc forms of strV may be analogical levelings. Uml verb forms survived in JyDa (gær goes, stær stands); R-umlaut in WSw and Gu; G-umlaut in VGö and Sk. (5) Breaking: unbroken forms common in JyDa. For a word like stela: stjala steal see Map 10. (6) U-umlaut: before preserved -u ENw agrees with ESc. (7) OSw sæghja (> Sw säga) was analogical from pres. sægher. (8) This breaking is sporadic and occurs also in ONw; does not occur in Gu. (9) Progressive umlaut: in Sw by 1050, Da by 1100, ENw by 1225, but spread unevenly; cf Sw jag I vs. Da jeg, Nw jamn even vs. Sw jämn; in all dialects ja yes. (10) Nasal assimilation: dated to 650-850 by Moberg (1944). All Sc dialects show some instances, e.g. mitt mine n. (PSc min+-t), pakka thank (PSc pankan); intensity grows towards the west, WSw going with WSc (Map 10). (11) CSc form, rarely attested, is dat. pl. -um plus dat. pl. of def. art. -inum. (12) Origin of ESc form obscure; chiefly OSw, including Sk.





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Several facts appear from the above listing. Most of the innovations were ESc, and some were reversals of CSc trends, whereby analogical leveling eliminated vowel alternations in related forms. Within ESc the local dialect of Gotland (OGu) remained outside the main stream of OSw development. WSw and WDa (JyDa) were transitional to WSc, just as ENw was transitional to ESc. The most conservatively OSc dialect was OIc, as it was going to remain in many respects down to the present, to such an extent that OIc forms are sometimes used to represent CSc.

10.5.3. WSc was the common dialect of a North Atlantic region, in which the sea was a unifying factor between the mother country Norway and its western colonists. Even at the present time it is not difficult to identify features that Nw, especially WNw, shares with the WSc dialects of the Faroes, Iceland, Greenland, Shetland, Orknevs, the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, even in Scotland (Caithness: P. Thorson 1939) and Ireland (Marstrander 1915), in so far as these are known. On the one hand the area was generally conservative, e.g. of the diphthongs and the grammatical inflections; but on the other it had a number of common innovations, e.g. preaspiration of geminated stops (Marstrander 1932; Oftedal 1947); differentiation of continuant clusters and geminates: rn/nn > dn, rl/ll > dl, fl > bl, fn > bn; diphthongization of long vowels:  $\bar{a}/\bar{o} > au$ ,  $\bar{o} > ou$ , etc. The problem of whether the common innovations were due to predispositions prior to emigration or to later contact was discussed by Chapman (1962); the pioneering work was done by Hægstad in his many publications on WNw dialects before 1350 (1906-42). Outside of Iceland there was no distinct writing tradition: some traces of OFa development have been found in a few ONw MSS presumably copied by Fa scribes (Sørlie 1936).

10.5.4. The WSc tradition did not remain unified, however. Even at a fairly early stage differences appeared both within ONw writings and between ONw and OIc. As Hægstad has shown, the ONw writing tradition was founded in Trondheim (Nidaros), the archbishop's seat after 1152 and frequent residence of the king. This TNw tradition showed vowel harmony and a lack of u-umlaut before preserved u (handum for hondum), both of which were deviations from the Ic (and SWNw norm). Bergen became the major royal residence in the thirteenth century, and its MSS show a mixture of features from the TNw tradition and those of NWNw and SWNw. When the chancery

moved to Oslo (above 10.2.5), the tradition was well established and did not at first admit any ENw features. Before long, however, these became apparent, e.g. in a marked weakening of the unstressed vowels (a > x etc.). Meanwhile, OIc went its own way, as the contact with Norway grew less intimate. Ic scribes had been active in Norway, and Norwegian MSS were copied in Iceland, so that much overlapping was possible. Attempts made by scholars to separate out the Ic and Nw elements in OWSc MSS have created considerable controversy. Some of the innovations in each dialect appeared in writing, others did not. Ic early showed loss of w before r (wreibR wrathful > reibr), while Nw lost h before l/n/r (e.g. hlut R lot > lutr). Ic developed some innovations in its vowel system that were not shared by ONw, e.g.  $\bar{e} > je$ ,  $\bar{o} > \bar{x}$ , o > o,  $\bar{x} > ai$ ,  $\bar{y}/y > i/i$ . These and other criteria have been used to separate and localize the writings of ONw and OIc scribes. Among those who have shown particular fervor for a Nw interpretation was D. A. Seip (e.g. 1945), who claimed for Nw scribes a number of documents (including the original of the Poetic Edda), which others (especially Icelanders) have claimed for Iceland.

10.5.5. The ESc tradition showed few differences between ODa and OSw in the first generation of MS writing, so that it is sometimes as hard to tell them apart as ONw and OIc. But from 1300 ODa reflects in its writing a rapid development that must have been prepared in speech for some time. This growth created a south–north split, such that one can distinguish a 'south Sc' area dominated by Denmark (from Jutland to Scania) from a 'north Sc' area including Sweden and much of Norway, especially ENw.

bie bide. The details of this development are highly complex, with dialectal variety and some spelling restorations. (2) Voiceless stops  $(p \ t \ k)$  were voiced  $(b \ d \ g)$ , at least by 1200: hop(a) > hob(e) heap; ut(e) > ud(e) out; tak(a) > tag(e) take. This change spread to south Sweden (East Da) and to the facing south coast of Norway ('den bløde kyststribe') (Map 17). (3) Voiced stops  $(b \ d \ g)$  became spirants  $(b \ \delta \ g)$  by 1300, often written  $v \ th \ gh$ , and these were again vocalized in the area of Sjælland and Fyn  $(w \ j)$ . This change did not affect EDa to any great degree, and in standard Da the spelling has mostly retained the voiced stops (which are now voiceless lenes) and has even restored the stop pronunciation of b. Except for local dialects and occasional loans (e.g. Sw taga take, bagare baker), the other Sc languages did not participate in these changes (preserving  $p \ k \ t$  and changing the spirants into  $b/v \ d \ g$ , when  $\delta$  was not lost). Loanwords in Da borrowed after 1300 do not change.

Postvocalic Consonant Lenition	Labials	Dentals	Velars
<ol> <li>(1) Voiced Spirants [spirant &gt; vocalic]</li> <li>(2) Voiceless Stops [voicelessness &gt; voicing]</li> <li>(3) Voiced Stops [occlusion &gt; spirant]</li> </ol>	b > w p > b b > b(w)	$\begin{array}{l} \delta > j \\ t > d \\ d > \delta(j) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} g > w/j \\ k > g \\ g > g(w/j) \end{array}$

Although it does not appear in writing, the characteristic Da glottalization probably arose in this period (Skautrup 1. 238 ff.). It is argued that stod cannot have arisen before words like akr field had become ager (rule (2) above), since voiceless consonants cannot take the glottalization. Only stressed (including secondarily stressed) syllables take stod; it falls on the vowel if this is long, otherwise on the consonant if it is voiced: man [marn] mane, mand [manr] man. The word types that are glottalized are roughly the same as those that take Accent 1 in other Sc languages, which makes it probable that stod continues the intensity peak of Accent 1 and replaces it as a distinctive feature in pairs that would have merged when the musical difference disappeared (Map 20).

10.5.6. Although the sources are inconsistent in marking vowel length, it is clear from later developments that long vowels have often been shortened before geminated consonants ( $n\bar{a}tt > natt$ , not natt), that short vowels have often been lengthened before clusters beginning with resonants (Ic fólk folk, hálfur half; Da Nw Sw  $b\bar{o}r(d)$  table; Ic lángur, Sw lang long; Da Nw vold Sw vall force, violence; Da DN hand hand) and in initial position (NN Sw aker field; NN Sw aker

at, to; Ic ég NN  $\bar{e}g$  I). Consonants are also sporadically lengthened ( $f\acute{a}t\acute{w}kr > fattig$  poor, koma > Nw Sw Da komma/komme come, setja > Da sette, Sw  $s\ddot{a}tta$  set). In Da geminates are systematically shortened, presumably around 1300, but not in East Da; the orthography (nat night, natten the night) does not permit exact dating. The shortening is peculiar to Da, but reflects similar developments in German (and English). It must be posterior to the lengthening of vowels before single consonants (primarily in 'open syllable', i.e. before a following vowel), which began in Danish c. 1250, probably as part of a general trend in this direction of all west European languages. This change, which we shall describe below as 'the great quantity shift', affected all the Sc languages and radically altered the syllable structure as well as the function of vowel quantity.

10.5.7. An important change in the vowel system was the backing and rounding of long  $\bar{a}$  (> [5]), reflected in the spelling by miswritings with o from 1200 on in ONw and OIc texts, a little later in ODa and by 1350 in OSw. The only dialects not affected by it are OGu and the Norðuroyar of Fa; the rest of Fa has [5a], Ic, OWNw (So Vo Hard), and EDa (Sk) > [au]. Since the new  $\lceil \overline{a} \rceil$  from lengthened a did not participate in this change, the quantity shift must have been later than the rounding of  $\bar{a}$ . When texts marked long  $\bar{a}$  at all, it was usually by doubling (aa), which came to be the regular spelling in Da and Nw for the new sound (as also in OSw). Even in this OSc period there was a clear trend towards qualitative differentiation between long and short vowels: the long (i.e. tense) vowels grew tenser (were either raised or diphthongized) and the short (non-tense) vowels grew less tense (were lowered or centralized). Evidence of the lowering of high short vowels began to appear in ODa MSS around 1300 (lewer lives for CSc libir, dør door for CSc dyrr).

10.5.8. In all the languages new intrusive ('svarabhakti') vowels developed to break up the old consonant clusters ending in sonorants (l r n), sporadically before 1200 in ODa, by 1250 in OSw and ONw, by 1300 in OIc. The Da vowel was usually x (later x), as in x above field, x bondx farmers, x hagl x hail, x and x weapon. So also in Sw and Nw, except that some East Nw and West Sw MSS favored x, West Nw and Ic x. Since these new vowels did not change the tonal—accentual pattern (from Accent 1 to 2), the latter must have been established prior to this time.

10.5.9. Perhaps the most striking and crucial change is seen in the

- highly varied treatment of the *unstressed vowels*. The CSc three-vowel system (a i u) was subject to (1) vowel harmony, (2) vowel balance, (3) merger and (4) apocope.
- (1) Vowel harmony (VH) was a form of progressive assimilation whereby a feature of the stressed vowel was projected on the following unstressed vowel: after high vowels the suffix vowel was high  $(i\ u)$ , after non-high it was non-high  $(e\ o)$ , e.g. systir sister vs.  $br\bar{o}per$  (less commonly front vowels caused fronting of a to a). A special subrule applied to short  $e\ o$  (and a before a) making the vowel high when they were umlaut products (normalized  $e\ o$ ), perhaps marking them as still distinct from  $e\ o\ a$  (but see H. Benediktsson 1964). VH appeared in EDa (Scanian) documents from 1100 and lasted until well after 1400, but rarely in other Da dialects (Brøndum-Nielsen 1927a). From Lund it spread (Hesselman 1948–52: 280) into Sw (Vg Upp Fi) and Nw (E T); it is an important criterion for distinguishing ENw from WNw MSS. It left few traces in later dialects (e.g. funni found vs. broste broken in Stod, a TNw dialect).
- (2) Vowel balance (VB: Sw vokalbalans, DN likevekt, NN jamvekt) characterized a continuous northern area (ENw NSw FiSw; see Map 13), which is still distinct though it had no influence on the literary languages. VB gave relatively more stress to weak vowels after short syllables (VC) than long (VC, VCC), and thereby preserved their qualities better (A. Kock 1881, Ljh 4. 50, 200, 363). The result was alternations in some MSS such as fara go vs. mangæ many, taki take subj. vs. namne name dat., fapur father obl. vs. mōpor mother obl. (Codex Bureanus, OSw c. 1350).
- (3) Merger applied to words (and dialects) not protected by VB, as in Da west of the Sound, where a/i/u had merged in [3], written x or - (4) Apocope followed merger, as appeared occasionally in JyDa MSS, e.g. Flensborg Stadsret c. 1300 (leggia lay > leg, timi hour > tim); see below 11.3.10 (4). Those dialects which resisted merger and apocope wrote variously iu and eo for the non-low vowels; e.g. Ic generally wrote eo in the early MSS, later io and then iu, probably without any actual change in pronunciation (Seip 1943; Haugen 1949a; H. Benediktsson 1962).
  - 10.5.10. A general simplification of the consonant system and its

clusters was evident by 1300. Da was beginning to eliminate b from initial position, as shown by spellings like tiufsæns the thief's for biufsins (Yyske Lov) or reverse spellings like thake for taka (AM 455, 12°). Ic was also the only language to retain h before resonants (hl hn hr > l n r in ninth-century Da, eleventh-century Nw and Sw). Before glides h was more persistent and continued to be written even though spelling errors show that it was gone in central Da by 1300 (ialpa help for hialpa, war each for hwar) and by 1400 in Sw and Nw (except that in most Nw hw > kv as in Fa and some Ic). Da (with adjacent dialects) assimilated the clusters tn tl as nn ll about 1200 (vatn > vann water, litli > lille little). On one point Ic (with WNw and OGu) showed less conservative forms than the rest of Sc: w was lost before r prior to the earliest MSS (CSc wreibi > OIc reibi OGu raibi OSw vrēbe ODa wrēthi wrath). In all dialects there was a tendency to palatalize velar stops before front vowels, often written as iin OIc and ONw by 1250, OSw and ODa before 1300 (gæta > giæta watch, riki > rikji kingdom); this change led to coalescence with the older clusters gi ki (gj kj) and to later affrications.

ro.5.11. Most of the changes that would actually be reflected in the spelling of the later Sc languages had already taken place by 1350—and some that would not be reflected. Innovations that reduced the number of root alternations and eliminated most of the redundant suffixes created first a west—east split and then split the east into a north—south division, with most of the innovations in the east and south. Da stands out as the most advanced, with a distinctive development that separates it from the other Sc languages.

By 1350 Da speech (in Sjælland) had altered its grammar into a form close to that of today. In the nouns (1) nom. acc. dat. sg. were merged; (2) nom. acc. dat. pl. were merged as either -e (from m. -a) or -er (from f. -ir), with n. either invariable or -e; (3) -s was generalized as gen. sg. and pl. from the m. n. sg. of a-stems; (4) the def. art. of the noun was reduced from a postposition to an inflection by elimination of the intervening case endings, e.g. hests-ins > hest-ens the horse's, hesta-nna > heste-nes the horses'; (5) reduction of the numeral 'one' to an indefinite article, with reduced stress: én hést one horse, en hést a horse.

The *adjective* declension and that of the non-personal *pronouns* was similarly reduced (corresponding to that of the def. art. above, except that the adjectives did not take a genitive) to a base form for m. and f.,

with -t for n. sg. and -e for pl. Adjectives maintained a weak form for use with determiners, but with a single form -e for all genders and numbers. M. and f. merged in a common (c.) gender, which adopted the demonstrative den it as its anaphoric pronoun, limiting han he and hun she to sexually designated animates. The personal pronouns

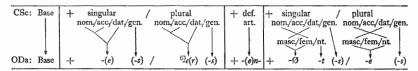


Fig. 9. Development of the Noun Inflections in Danish

lost the 1. and 2. p. duals and datives, but preserved a subject-object distinction (jak:mik, thu:thik, vi:os, i:ither), while the 3. p. pronouns merged the acc. with the dat. (hanum him, hænnæ her, thæm them). In the verb conjugation tense distinctions were well preserved, while moods often merged; distinction of persons was lost, with -r (from 2. and 3. p.) generalized in the pres. sg. and -æ (-e) (from -a of the 3. p.) in the pres. pl., and (from -i) in all pret. forms (except in the sg. of strong verbs).

CSc: Base	+	pres.	+	singular	/ plural	/ + pret.	+	singular	/ plural
				ı.p. z.p=3.p.	11p. 2.p. 3.p.			1.p. 2.p. 3.p.	1.p. 2p. 3.p.
ODa: Base	+	-ø	+	-(e)r	-æ(-e)	/ + pret.	+	-Ø/-e	-Ø/-e

Fig. 10. Development of the Verb Inflections in Danish

10.5.12. The major isoglosses that are reflected in the written norms of the OSc period have been listed below in tabular form. They are based on the lists found in various grammars as criteria for distinguishing texts from different areas. This table can therefore serve as a checklist for locating manuscripts with respect to their provenience, and also as a rough mapping of the various isoglosses. For details it will be necessary to turn to the historical grammars, where the lists of criteria are supplemented by discussion and abundant exemplification. This checklist has been so arranged as to bring out the much higher incidence of innovation in ODa and OSw than in the other traditions: + represents an innovation, while — is a retention of the older form. Subdialects are indicated by abbreviations (Jy Jylland, Fy Fyn, Sk Skåne, Sj Sjælland, Vg Västergötland, T Trøndelag;

Fig. 11. Checklist of Dialectal Criteria in OSc Manuscripts (1150–1350)
I. PHONOLOGY

	Change	Rule	Example	ODa	OSw	OGu	ONw	OIc
Vowels								
Long	lowering	ū > ō /a	bō(a)	+	+	+ +	-	_
		ũ- > ő-	ō-līkr		$+$ $ \stackrel{\text{W}}{\approx}$	1 +	+N-S	+
	1	$\bar{e} > \tilde{e} / -C, \#$	fæ	+ 9C	+ 13C	-(> ī)	-	-
	raising	æøē>ēÿī	mēla	-	<del>-</del>   +	<del> </del>   <del> </del>	_	_
	backing diphthongiza-	loss of R-uml ē etc. > ie ei etc.	i gāR hiem	<del>  +</del>   +	<del>-</del>	—(late)	_	ie 13C
	tion	e etc. > le et etc.	mem	-		late		10 130
	consonantiza-	$V_t > C / \_V$	sjā	<u> </u>	_	_	+	+
	tion		"					
Diphthongal	monophthongi- zation	ęi > ē	stēn	+	+	—ai	- +SE	_
	24000	ou, oy > o	ĕga, ĕra	+	+	—au øy	- +SE	
		iū > ÿ	lÿs	+	- (+)	-iau	_	_
Short	lowering	iyu>eøo/_rC	herbe	_	+	+	-+E	
		æ > a /w_r	varba	-+Sk	+	_	-+E	_
	raising	o > u (absence, loss of	hult	-FyJy	+ $-Vg$	+	- +E	_
		a-umlaut)		+SjSk		·		
		o > u /ĆCw	hugga	+	+ -Vg	—(a)		_
		e > i /gj	sighia	-Jy	+	_	-	-
				+SjSk				

	fronting	$ \begin{array}{l} u>y \mathrel{/t(h)} \\ \varrho>\varnothing \mathrel{/r}, 1 \\ a>\varkappa \mathrel{/j (prog. uml.)} \end{array} $	ytan øl, ørn iærn	- +Sk + +11C	- + -Vg +11C	- - +N -S	 + +TE -W	
	backing	loss of gi/ki umlaut ø > o /r	takenn forst	+ -+Sk	+ -Vg	+	_	
	rounding	i > y /C_C (spor.)	vyrða	+	+	+ (late)	+	
	unrounding	loss of u-uml. —/(u) loss of u-uml. /—u	fand pl. sakum	++	++	+	$\begin{array}{c} +\mathrm{TE} \; -\mathrm{W} \\ +\mathrm{TE} \; -\mathrm{W} \end{array}$	
	diphthongiza- tion	breaking of e > ia (iæ)	jak, stjala	+	+	+	+E -W	_
		y > iu /_r, 1C, ggw, ngw	sjunga	+	+		+E -W	
İ	lengthening	$ m V > ar{ m V}$ /_rð, ng (spor.)	gārðr	+Sj	+	_	+W ng	+ng
Weak	harmony	i u > e o / V non-high (C)	systir, bröber	- +Sk	- +Vg	_	+TE -W	_
	balance	aiu>æeo/longsyl	kastæ, fara	-	+ $-$ Vg	-	+TE -W	
	merger	a i u > æ (e)	faræ	+-Sk	_		-+SE	-
	apocope	aiu>Ø	far	-+Jy		_	_	_
	intrusion	$\emptyset > V /C R (1, n)$	bøkær	+æ	+e(æ)	_	+e a u	$+\mathbf{u}$

Fig. 11. Checklist of Dialectal Criteria in OSc Manuscripts (1150-1350) (cont.)

I. PHONOLOGY (cont.)

	Change	Rule	Example	ODa	OSw	OGu	ONw	Olc
CONSONANTS Single	lenition palatalization R-loss vocalization	p t k > b d g /V—V, # k g sk > kj gj skj /—V front R > Ø /—# g > w /—V, #	gaba kjær hesta slaw	+++++	- +Sk + + -Vg	  	- + -	  -  -  -
Clusters	n-assimilation b-assimilation d-assimilation w-loss h-loss j-loss velarization intrusion	loss: C stop > C nas/_C stop b > m /_n d > C liq /l, n w > Ø /_rV h > Ø /_lV nV rV j > Ø /k, l_V unstr nn > ng /V high Ø > C stop /m_l r, nn ll_r	enkja jamn halla reiþi lutr kirka ing gamble	+ -+Sk +-Sk - ++Sk -+SkFy +Sk	+ + + +	+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +	 +- +E-W -SE+W +-  +	  +  

II. GRAMMAR

	Form	Alternants	ODa	OSw	OGu	ONw	OIc
Def. Art.	dative pl.	(a) -unum (b) -umin	b	b aVg	*	a	a
PRONOUNS	<ol> <li>p. dual</li> <li>p. plur.</li> <li>p. dual</li> <li>p. plur.</li> <li>p. plur.</li> <li>dem. sg.</li> </ol>	(a) vit (> Ic viþ) (b) mit (a) vēr (b) mēr (c) vī(r) (a) it (b) þit (a) ēr (b) þēr (c) ī(r) (a) hōn, hon (b) hun (c) hān (a) þann, þat (b) þænn, þæt	lost c vī lost c ī b abSk b	a c a c a bVg b	* c vir * c c b	b a > b b a a a a bSE	a a > b a > b a a
VERBS	str. pr. sg. medio-pass. 2. p. pl.	(a) i-umlaut (b) no i-umlaut (a) -sk > -st (b) -sk > -s (a) -it > -ip (b) -ir (c) -in	b aJy b — cSk	b b c	b b c	a bSE a bSE ab bSE	a a a
SYNTAX	double def. rel. part. conj. 'if'	(a) þat hūs (b) þat hūsit (a) er (b) sem (c) sum (d) þar (a) ef (b) of, af (c) um (d) en	a bSk d aSk cSk bJy	b c cd	a c d	b b ad	a a > b ad

E East N North S South W West SE Southeast SW Southwest). The list includes the isoglosses listed earlier for ESc and WSc as well as those that characterized the new national norms.

ro.6 Loanwords and Lexicon. The tremendous wealth of words in the medieval sources finally enables us to gain a broader perspective of the Sc lexicon. Not that they exhaust it: modern dialects show that vast numbers of words were never recorded in the Middle Ages, primarily because the sources concentrated on some topics to the exclusion of others. The range of styles is widest in Ic literature, extending from the spontaneous conversations of the sagas to the highly wrought verse of the skalds. But the ESc sources are more representative of what mainland Sc was going to be like in its growth from medieval to modern.

Vocabulary, as is well known, is the most revealing index of culture. Each of the cultural transformations through which Norden passed in this era is reflected in the vocabulary: from paganism to Christianity, from tribal to national government, from self-containment to international commerce. Most of this was the work of the privileged classes, since the general population was still culturally unmobilized. Christianity was the work of missionaries and priests, who constituted a new clerical class, using Latin as their technical language. The new institutions of government were created by the king and his nobles, whose technical language was also Latin, but strongly tempered by feudal models in French and German. The new commerce was the work of the burghers, whose technical language was Low German (unless they were English or Dutch). When Sc writers used their native languages to deal with topics from these and related spheres of life, they found it necessary to express many concepts familiar to them only in the respective technical languages.

ro.6.x. Any population that is required to learn and use a foreign language in order to acquire the culture conveyed in that language will have to modify its own language to meet new demands. This can be done either by (a) importing lexical items (words, phrases, sentences), or (b) substituting native items which will perform the same function as the foreign ones. In both cases something is 'borrowed', at the very least a concept. In case (a) the items may be wholly or partly adapted to native rules of grammar and phonology; the result is a loanshift,

which may be either a semantic extension of a previously existing term, or a loan creation (also known as a calque), imitating the structure of a foreign term. Only rarely do languages make up entirely new words in such cases. All of these methods were used by medieval Scandinavians, with ESc showing some preference for the loanword, WSc for the loanshift. In later times this choice came to be considered a matter of some importance, since the loanshift argues somewhat greater independence, but in this period it appears to have been a simple function of the degree of direct contact between the languages. This was obviously greater in ESc than in WSc.

10.6.2. Differences in the incidence of borrowing were both geographical and stylistic. Borrowing was most intense in ESc, where contact with the Continent was more intimate; it was weakest in Ic, with Nw intermediate. It was greater in urban than in rural communities. Stylistically it was least in those forms of discourse that maintained a close continuity with the pre-Christian past, above all in OIc literature, much of it pagan in content. In all countries the early laws were least affected, since they related to a primarily agricultural economy, while their manner and substance went back to pagan times (Ahldén 1945). Only three percent of the 994 lexical items in the Scanian Law (c. 1171) are of foreign origin (Skautrup 1. 285), all of them well assimilated (e.g. paskæ Easter, mynter coin). With the novel taste for edifying and entertaining literature translated from other languages came a stronger temptation to interlard these texts with new, untranslated technical terms. The main impulse to an entirely new Sc style came from the loans that entered into daily usage in government and commerce. Many of the words adopted and created in this period survived to the present, but of course the texts abound in words that were either nonce borrowings or that later fell into disuse.

10.6.3. The gradual penetration of the Roman Catholic Church into Scandinavia between 850 and 1150 made great demands on the native languages, since the gap between Latin and them was far greater than in southern Europe. The fact that the other Gmc peoples had preceded the Scandinavians into the fold provided an important bridge. The first missionaries to Norway were English, while in Denmark and Sweden they were Saxon, but the division is not wholly clear-cut, since the Da rulers of England (1016–42) stimulated a flow of influence to Denmark as well. While the ultimate

model of nearly all ecclesiastical terminology was Latin (as enshrined in the Vulgate), the specific form of any given word may have been channeled through the adaptations made either in Old English (OE) or in Old Saxon (OS) and its successor Middle Low German (MLG). Latin words like monasterium or monachus were sometimes cited unadapted as so many foreign terms, but as a rule they were more or less adapted, e.g. as mynster and munkr. It is not easy to decide whether mynster is modeled on OE mynster or MLG münster, whether munkr goes back to OE munuc or MLG monnek. Occasionally it also becomes necessary to take into account Old Frisian or Middle Dutch; all of these languages are similar to one another and offer few certain criteria for borrowing (cf Seip 1915, 1919).

The profound influence of Christianity on the Sc lexicon has been the subject of a number of studies; one of the earliest was by B. Kahle (1890: 314), who wrote enthusiastically of the skill 'mit welcher die Meister der Uebersetzung es verstanden haben, die ihnen entgegenstehenden Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden'. Taranger (1890) specifically treated the English influence on the Norwegian church language, which he found to be a happy one: 'Every sentence is a testimonial to the authors' mastery of their task and their outstanding ability to recast the foreign material in a genuine, native form' (1890: 412). Jørgensen (1908) studied the development of Danish under Christian influence, and C.-E. Thors (1957) made an exhaustive inquiry into Old Swedish, which in general sums up what is known about the subject for all the Sc languages.

ro.6.4. Thors (1957: 629 ff.) found that in general the Eng influence was such as one might expect from the earliest years of the missionary Church: words for church buildings and their equipment (kirkia church, skrūper shroud, rökilse incense), or for the services of the clergy (hūsl sacrament, skript confession, mässa mass, bläza bless), or related concepts (gupfaper godfather, lärper learned, ärkebiskoper archbishop, nōn noon). Those that he identified as probably German included words for the clerical hierarchy (provaster dean, kapitel chapter, pave pope) and the developing Church (domkirkia cathedral, stift bishopric, dop baptism, klokke bell). The three great feast days of the Church form an interesting triad: in OE they all three had native names (geol Christmas, eoster Easter, hwita sunnandæg Whitsun), but in Sc only the first became general (jōl, jūl, the name of the old pagan winter festival), while the others were loans from Ger

(ODa paska from OS pascha, ODa pingiz from OS pincoston), except that WSc created hvitasunnudagr after OE, which is still the Ic name (and survives as Nw dialect kvissun, NN kvitsunn). The LG influence was longer and more enduring, at least in ESc.

Of the 1,100 words treated by Thors only a minority are loanwords in the strict sense; most of them are loanshifts, what Tegnér called *ideella lånord eller översättningslånord*: the body is native, but the soul is foreign (Tegnér 1889: 159). Only a few of these could have been called specifically religious prior to Christianity. Beside the previously mentioned *gup* god and *jōl* there were *heilagr* (Gmc *hailagaz*) sacred, inviolate, *vīgja* consecrate and some words for 'enemy, fiend' that could be applied to the Christian devil (*andskoti*, *fjandi*, *gramr*, *ōvinr*, etc.). But there were great numbers of words for social and moral relationships that could easily be reshaped so as to give them a specifically Christian sense:

 $dyg\delta$  strength, virtue, honor (from duga be able) > (Christian) virtue

skirr bright, clear, pure > (morally) pure

samfundr meeting, gathering > (Christian) congregation (in ESc only)

 $tr\bar{u}(a)$  trust, confidence > faith, belief (in Christian doctrine, after Lat fides)

From skīrr was created a verb skīra, literally 'purify', used in WSc for 'baptize', and a term for the Thursday of holy week (Maundy Thursday), ON skirdagr/OSw skärdagher 'day of purification' (ON skiri þórsdagr/ODa skærtorsdag/OSw skärþorsdagher; in archaic Eng also as Sheer Thursday). In ESc 'baptize' was rendered by døpa (from deypa), following Go daupjan, MLG dopen, which like Gk baptizein originally meant 'to dip'.

ro.6.5. An illustration of the complex relationship between the model languages and the replicas produced in Sc is afforded by the OSw translation of the phrase sancta catholica ecclesia: (i enne) almennelike hälge kirkio (Thors 27). Almenneliker (ON almenniligr ODa almænnælik) is a Sc word meaning 'for all men' (al- all, mannman, -ilikr adj. suffix); cf OE (ge)mæne, OHG gemeina, for the same. Hælagr (CSc heilagR from Gmc hailagaz) is a pre-Christian legal-sacred term for 'inviolable possession': the first (pagan) settlers of Iceland used to 'dedicate' (helga) the land which they claimed as their

own. Only kirkia is an out-and-out loanword, probably from OE cirice (or possibly OS kirika), which got it from the Franks (bishoprics of Lyon and Trier), where the Gk kyriakon had replaced the usual Lat ecclesia, cf Fr église (Frings 1932: 38; but see Wessén 1928, who traces kirkia to the Goths).

'Soul' and 'spirit', two key terms of Christian faith, illustrate further the intricate research problems resulting when new concepts penetrate into a culture. These words are renditions of Lat anima and spiritus (in turn modeled on Greek psychē and pneûma, words for 'breath, wind'). In modern Sc they are, respectively,

	Ic	Fa	NN	DN	Sw	Da
soul:	sál	sál	sål	sjel	själ	sjæl
	andi (önd)	andi (ond)	ande	ånd	ande (anda)	ånd

'Soul' is from PGmc saiwa-lo f. (Go saiwala), which has been ingeniously derived from PGmc saiwa-z m. sea, lake, as referring to spirits living in sacred lakes (Weisweiler 1939). OE developed this into sāwol (> sāwl), OS into siala (sēola, siola, sēla), from which MLG sele. In Sc the WSc forms go back to an OSc sāl, the ESc to siāl; beside these the sources show forms that can be read as siōl (siaul, sioulu, siulu, siol) and sæl (sil, silu, selu). It has been maintained (Kock Ljh 2. 300-5) that these go back to PGmc saiwa-lo, as do the other Gmc forms, and that their diversity is parallel to that of saiwa-z, which in OSc becomes variously  $si\bar{a}r$ ,  $si\bar{o}r$ ,  $s\bar{x}r$  and  $s\bar{o}$ . But the general consensus is now (Thors 450-7) that the word died out in NGmc (since it fails to occur in any pagan source) and was borrowed back into WSc from OE, into ESc from OS, while a form like  $s\bar{x}l$  (still used in the Da expletive minsæl 'my soul') stems from MLG. One wonders why the word disappeared in NGmc; the fact that it was so easily reintroduced and in such various forms suggests that the problem is still not wholly settled. As for 'spirit', these forms often alternate with 'soul' on the runic memorial stones that ask God to bless the deceased. The Sc word for 'spirit' is native (ultimately cognate with anima) and well established in a strong (ond) and weak (andi) form, which still overlap in their meanings of 'breath' and 'spirit'. In the Christian sense of 'Holy Ghost' Da (and DN) has chosen and (leaving andi > ande to mean 'breath'), while the others have maintained the andi (Sw has also developed a new form anda to mean 'breath' and secular 'spirit').

So Sc agrees with WGmc in its adoption of 'soul', but deviates in 'spirit' both from German with its *Geist* and English with its Lat borrowing.

10.6.6. The clergy were not merely responsible for ecclesiastical terminology, but in their role as learned men they also dispensed the secular traditions from Latin and Greek. Legal, rhetorical and grammatical literature stood side by side with theological in the library of Bishop Arne of Bergen (d. 1314). The King's Mirror impressed on its readers the necessity of learning Latin, while the skald Thorarin Loftunga declared in 1035 that prayers to St. Olaf should be recited in Latin, the bókmál 'book language'. In learned works the translators did not always translate or even adapt the Latin words, but they did produce many tautologous expressions where a native synonym was used to clarify the Latin, e.g. til samtals ok consilium 'for conference and council' (Berulfsen 1963-4: 156-72; Salvesen 1968). New constructions crept into the literary language, especially the use of concentrated present and past participial forms, the reflexive in a passive sense, and the use of interrogative pronouns as relatives; but these did not succeed in establishing themselves in speech, though they were part of learned style down to the recent past. The monasteries were centers of religious activity, but also a civilizing force in gardening, agriculture, handicrafts and medicine. Numerous words that must have been taught in their schools (ODa skolæ, Lat schola) entered the language from Latin, well adapted on their way (sometimes through WGmc): ODa lauerbær laurel (OSw lagherbær), from Lat laurus via MDutch lauwer, LG lorbere; ODa spitalsk leprous, from Lat hospitale > MLG spittāl 'hospital (for lepers)'; ON skrín casket, from Lat scrinium > OE scrin MLG schrin.

ro.6.7. The royal court became the center of social life for a new upper class, which administered the country through its nobles and lesser administrators. More magnificent titles were imported from abroad and lightly nativized, e.g. ON hertogi duke (LG hertoch 'leader of an army') competing with older jarl earl, greifi count (LG grēve, OE gerēfa 'reeve') with a hypercorrect diphthong, jungherra young nobleman (also junkherra, junkera, junkeri, from LG junkher) with partial adaptation (cf Ic ungherra), jungfrū young noblewoman (ODa iungfrūghæ, Da Nw jomfru, Sw jungfru, all from MLG junkvrowe; cf Ic ungfrū). These played their part in creating an air of feudal kurteisi courtliness (ME curteisie, OF cortoisie). The riddari

knight (MLG ridder 'rider') received his lēn fief (MLG lēn, cognate with ON lún loan) from the king in return for his services. New modes of warfare led to the replacement of native or arrow by pīl (MLG pīl from Lat pīlum spear), and the introduction of new weapons such as byssa gun (MLG busse gun, box, from Gk pyxos boxwood) and krūt powder (MLG krūt, Da krudt, but Ic púður).

10.6.8. Trade and handicraft required many novel terms, most of them from MLG. Many basic Sc terms remained, including kaupmaðr merchant and the words for buying and selling, which were cognate with the LG words in any case. But the old word handla handle received its new meaning of 'trade' from MLG handelen, borga (if it existed at all) its meaning of 'guarantee' from MLG borgen. New trades and crafts sprang up, e.g. ODa bødiker cooper (MLG bodiker), ODa krember peddler (Da kræmmer, Sw krämare, from MLG krēmer), kok cook (MLG koch, from Lat coquus), køgemester steward (MLG kōkenmester 'kitchen chief'). It is no wonder that such words as kōka cook (MLG koken from Lat coquere) and smaka taste (MLG smaken) followed these professions and displaced such native terms as sjóða (cf Eng seethe) and befia (properly 'to smell'). There were many new products to cook and taste, kanel cinnamon (MLG kanel from LL canella small tube), sukkær sugar (MLG sucker, ultimately from Indic), mõs sauce (LG mõs), villibráð venison (ODa wildbradh. possibly from MLG wiltbrāt).

10.6.9. Beside the technical terms here listed, there were many allpurpose words that replaced old native words, or specialized their senses. Stríð had referred to any kind of strife, but the specific meaning of 'war' was now taken over by krig (MLG krich, gen. kriges), though not in Ic. Ætla intend was replaced on the mainland by akta (LG achten), except in Nw and Sw dialects (often limited to the sense of 'portion out'). Kenna teach and nema learn were replaced by læra (MLG leren teach, learn), though not in Ic. In Da kenna also lost its sense of 'feel' in favor of the loan folæ (MLG volen, from WGmc folian). Leika play was partially replaced by spille (MLG spelen) in all its serious meanings. The usual word for 'gift', gjof, was displaced by gāfa, which owed at least its vowel to MLG gāve and its spiritual sense to Lat donum (gratiae): cf Da DN nådegave Sw nådegåva (undeserved) gift. There are probably few Sc words whose transferred senses cannot be traced to a classical, biblical, or general European source.

many of its suffixes had been shortened to a single phoneme (sók-n, spek-i, fegr-ð). It is therefore not surprising that MLG affixes should have been borrowed and become productive (Seip 1924, repr. 1934b: 30). The prefixes that were borrowed fulfilled the function of those that had been lost, e.g. be- ent- er- ge-. Compounds with be- appear in OSw from the early fourteenth century, ODa before 1350, ONw after 1370, e.g. OSw bedragha deceive (MLG bedrēgen, reshaped after draga drag), begripa grasp (MLG begripen), betala pay (MLG betalen). Ent- was reproduced as und-, e.g. undgå avoid (MLG entgān), or in Sw as um-, e.g. umbära manage without (Da DN undvære, from MLG entberen). Er- and ge- appeared later, but the prefix for- attached itself to a number of semi-native creations quite early, e.g. ODa fordærwæ spoil (MLG vordærven), fordømæ condemn (MLG vordæmen), forlatæ leave (MLG vorlæten), forbrytæ commit a crime (MLG vorbreken, where breken is replaced by a native synonym), forglømæ forget (from native glømæ after MLG vorgeten). Parallel formations with fyrir-(fore-) received stress in Ic, but the MLG influence kept for- in this pejorative sense unstressed elsewhere (Johannisson 1939: 175 ff.).

10.6.11. A number of LG suffixes were also accepted in the four-

teenth century. Females were marked by -inne as in ODa forstinne princess (MLG vörstinne), or -ersche as in ODa synderske female sinner (MLG sundersche), from which Da -ske Sw -ska. Abstracts in -het (Nw -heit), -else and -ende (Sw -ande) reflected MLG models, e.g. ONw rettighæit right (MLG rechticheit), OSw vighilse consecration (MLG wigelse), OSw meddelande communication (MLG mededēlent). The MLG origin of -else is disputed (Seip 1947), as it may be due to metathesis of CSc -sl (but see Loman 1961: 197-285); most of the LG loans to which it is attached end in -nisse or -ing, so that it must have been well established at an early time. It quickly became productive with native stems, especially in Da and DN (NN and Ic have generally rejected it): ODa fræstæls temptation (Da DN fristelse Sw frestelse, but Ic Fa NN freisting, Ic also freistni); ODa øthmykælsæ humiliation (Da ydmygelse DN ydmykelse Sw förödmjukelse, but NN audmyking, audmykt, Fa eyðmýking, Ic auðmýkt). The suffix -ande became especially popular in Sw; it is formally identical with the pres. part., but reproduces the MLG nominalized infinitive -ent (gen. -endes). The native suffixes -ig (-ug) and -lik were easily affixed to MLG stems in imitation of MLG adjectives: ODa undærdanugh

subservient (MLG underdanich), ærlik honest, honorable (MLG erlik).

- 10.6.12. The rapid development of urban Sc after 1250, especially in Denmark and Sweden, reflected the bilingual world in which the privileged classes lived. It was touch and go that the Sc languages survived at all, but they did so only after becoming acculturated to the new, stratified medieval world. The change penetrated only slowly into the rural communities, especially the western islands (neither Fa nor Ic were spoken in any urban community). The foreign influence therefore had the dual effect of creating a social distinction between lower and upper classes, but also of separating mainland Sc from insular Sc. This was the beginning of the cleavage of the rest of Sc from Ic and Fa, at the same time as the common changes in ODa, OSw and ONw kept these languages together and even tended to centralize them under the leadership of Denmark.
- 10.6.13. Names and titles kept pace with the new sophistication. The Bible and the saints' calendar brought with them new given names: a list of persons in Valdemars Jordebog of 204 people living just before 1200 shows 72 different names, of which 16 are foreign, including the three most popular ones: Niels (from Nicolaus), Peder (from Petrus), and Jon (from Johannes). Nine of the 16 are Christian, the rest German (Skautrup 1. 303). The Christian names were thoroughly adapted, e.g. Michael > Mikkel, Matthias > Mads, Paulus > Paul, Elizabeth > Else, Benedictus > Bengt, Magnus > Mo(ge)ns, Martin > Morten, Cecilia > Sidsel, Sille. German names required less violent changes: Albrekt, Bertold > Bertel, Engelbrekt, Fretherik, Henrik, Markvarth, Gerthrud, Greta (from Margareta), Valburg, etc. Surnames were becoming necessary in urban life, but were still mostly patronymics: Svend Estridson, Anne Pætersdotter. Others adopted or were dubbed with occupational names (Henricus Crember 'trader'), place-names (Johannes Sialanzfare 'man from Sjælland'), or nicknames (Galt 'boar', Lille 'little', Drukken 'drunk', Kage 'cake'). But only in the nobility were they beginning to adopt the German custom known from 1100 of passing surnames on from one generation to the next as family markers.
- vords brought with it new rules of stress, some of which became a permanent part of the mainland standard languages. The early loans were fully adapted, as in the case of the names just mentioned,

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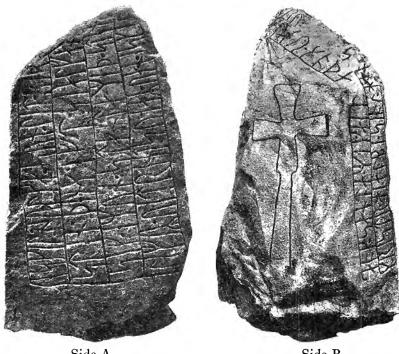
so that Michae'l > Mik'kel, Christia'nus > Kris'tian, Grego'rius > Gre'gers, Ceci'lia > Sis'sel. The rule of tonic stress continued to be applied in Ic, where even foreign names like Alexan'der and Ame'rika are stressed on the first syllable (A'lexander, A'merika). The same is largely true in many rural dialects of Nw and Sw. e.g. ENw sta'sion station, pol'ti police, bet'ala pay (DN stasjo'n, politi', beta'le), VärmSw kap'la chaplain, pat'ron patron, NärkeSw præd'dika preach (Sw kapla'n, patro'n, predi'ka). But the mass of MLG words with the unstressed prefixes be- er- for- ge- introduced into OSc and MSc a pattern that was lost in PSc. While most of these have remained unstressed, the fact that they were introduced at various times and places has led to complex variation within and across the dialects. The prefix er- was stressed in Sw e'rinnra remember, e'rfara experience, e'rövra conquer, but remained unstressed in Da DN erin'dre, erfa're, ero'bre. The prefix for- (Sw för-) was stressed in such nouns as Da DN for'bud prohibition, for'lag publishing house, but unstressed in Sw förbu'd, förla'g, while it remained unstressed in the corresponding verbs in all the languages: Da forby'de/DN forby'/Sw förbju'da forbid, Da forlæg'ge/DN forleg'ge/Sw förläg'ga publish.

So also with suffixes: some were borrowed with stress, e.g. -ere/-era (Da rege're/DN regje're/Sw rege'ra rule), -esse/-essa (Da DN prinses'se/Sw prinses'sa princess), others with or without, e.g. -aktig (Da delak'tig/Sw de'laktig/Nw -ak't- or de'l- participating). In loanwords of other types, which in the originals had non-tonic stress, the languages have sometimes settled on different patterns, e.g. Da DN dusi'n/Sw dus'sin dozen, Da DN papi'r/Sw pap'per paper, Da skoma'ger/DN skoma'ker/Sw sko'makare shoemaker. Da (and DN) shows a somewhat closer adherence to Ger models than Sw. In a few cases Sw has even departed from Ger in the opposite direction, by postponing the stress, e.g. Da DN e'gentlig/Sw egen'tlig proper (Ger ei'gentlich), Da DN mar'tyr/Sw marty'r (Ger mär'tyre) martyr.

10.7 Texts. The following passages illustrate the chief OSc dialects and the transition from runic to Latin letters. Most of them have some content relating to language or writing. They are all Christian, with some pagan residue, especially in the charms and in OIc literature. All are transcribed and translated, and some are normalized as well (and so marked).

#### A. INSCRIPTIONS

#### (a) Denmark 1: A self-inscribed memorial



Side A Side B

Side A: eskil:sulka:sun:let:res[a] / sten:pena:eft:sialfan / sik · emun · stanta · mep · sten / lifiR · uitrint · su · iaR · uan · eskil Side B: kristr · hialbi · siol · hans / aok · santa · migael

Eskil, son of Sulki, caused this stone to be erected in his own memory. Aye will stand, while the stone lives, this memorial which Eskil made. Christ and Saint Michael help his soul!

(ODa: Tillitse, Lolland, 1100-50; DR 212. A later inscription on top and back, not shown.)

### (b) Denmark 2: Paganism in Christian magic

A:+iorp:bipak:uarpæ:ok:uphimæn:sol:ok: santæmria:ok:salfæn:gudrotæn:pæthan:læmik: læknæs:hand:oklif:tuggæ:atliuæ

B: uiuindnæ:þær:botæ:þarf:/or:bak:okor bryst:orlækæ:okorlim:orøuæn:okorøræn:or: allæþe:þær:ilt:kaniat

Normalized (and emended by Hammerich):

Iorþ biþ-ak uarþæ ok uphimæn, sol ok santæ maria ok sialfæn gud-drottæn, þæt han læ mik læknæs-hand ok lif-tungæ, at lækæ \*bin-undæ þær botæ þarf:

or bak ok or bryst, or liuæ ok or lim, or øuæn ok or øræn,

or allæ þe þær ilt kan atkumæ.

Earth I bid aid me and the heaven above,
The sun and Saint Mary and Himself, the Lord
God,

That He lend me a healing hand and a life-giving tongue,

To cure the wounds that want relief:

From back and from breast, From life and from limb, From eyes and from ears,

From all that evil can overcome.

(ODa, Jutish with Nw features: Ribe, two sides of a five-sided stick, about 1 ft. long. Versified healing charm, c. 1250. See Moltke 1960, Hammerich 1963.)

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(c) Sweden 1: A challenge to the reader of a memorial stone



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#### Normalized:

Stæin hiogg Æsbærn, stæindan at vitum, bant með runum; ræisti Gylla at GæiRbern, boanda sinn, ok Guðfrið at faður sinn.

Hann vaR boandi bæztr i Kili.
Raði saR kunni.

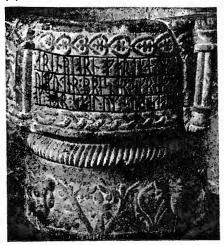
Æsbærn hewed the stone, stained in memory, bound with runes; Gylla raised it after GæiRbern, her husband, and Guðfrið after her father.

He was the best of the dwellers in Kil.

Let him read who can.

(OSw: Nybble, Sö 213, partly versified grave monument, probably twelfth century.)

#### (d) Sweden 2: The runes in Christian service



arinbiorn : gørthe : mik : uitkunder : prester : skref : mik : ok : hær : skal : um : stund : stanta :

Arinbjörn made me. Vidkunnr priest wrote me. And here (I) shall stand for a time.

(OSw: Burseryd, Smål 50, baptismal font, fourteenth century.)

#### (e) Norway 1: A plea for prayer



+ek biþ firi guþrs sakar yþr lærþa menn er / uarþuæita staþ þænna ok alla þa er raþa kunnu / bøn mina minnizk salo minnar ihælgum bønom en / ek et gunnar ok gærþi ek hus þætta+ualete

I ask for God's sake you learned men who preside over this place and all who can read my prayer: remember my soul in holy prayers. And I was named Gunnar and I built this house. Valete!

(ONw: inscription from Tingvoll church in Nordmøre, early thirteenth century; NIYR 446 (vol. 4, 272-5). Carved in marble square.)

(f) Norway 2: A love charm in Eddic verse from Bergen



ristek: bot: runar: rist: ekbiabh: runar: eæin: faluip: aluom: tuiualtuip: trolom: preualt: uip: p... [broken]

Normalized (Liestøl): Ríst ek bótrúnar, / ríst ek bjargrúnar, / einfalt við alfum, / tvífalt við trollum, / þrífalt við þ[ursum] . . .

I carve healing runes, I carve protecting runes, once against the elves, twice against the trolls, thrice against the ogres . . .

(ONw: Bergen, inscr. on one side of a four-sided stick, 1250-1300. For rest of inscription see Liestøl 1964: 41-5.)

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#### B. MANUSCRIPTS

#### (a) Denmark 1: The law in runes

Far man kunu ok dør han før en hun far barn ok sigir hun ok hennæ frændær at hun er mæþ barne þa skal hun sittæ i egenþ bægiæ þerræ uski(-) ftø [sic] tiukhu ugu ok til se mæþ sinum uæriændæ ær hun æi

If a man marries a woman, and he dies before she gets a child, and she and her kinsmen say that she is with child, then she shall remain on the property common to them undivided for twenty weeks and look after it with her guardian. If she is not [with child . . .]

(ODa: Scanian Law, ch. 1, first lines. MS AM 28 8° (Codex Runicus), last third of thirteenth century; facs. ed. 1877; text ('Tekst I') in Danmarks gamle Love, vol. 1. Da transl. in Kroman and Iuul, Skaanske lov og jyske lov, 2. ed., Copenhagen, 1959.)

(b) Denmark 2: The basis of all law

eth leth that Lind brokes. erito nem yrundrollun 11% At fit eather or later to meet laf næth tha thurfræ man ække togt with an arigh logh ar aringoth at folghæ finn finnær. Hwax fum mim ænær um länæd-th hat logh lette hwilkt the that was silogh - Alamor tha hafur him met th med mack groups the skal logh aft alla man great at rata men a bakaor fables a muta there not or backer. or folge or viveta men tathas ther the looken or liven a thurwar for the fulcional there unless thinks Thomas bushes well are that octate or than the gule unled a or cortains Althuch ma milohka til goz . At "than the hotelings raile oc lan dans without furtinear the argo we the ocurre them of the goes 10x.

(M)æth logh skal land bygiæs æn wildæ hwær man oruæs at sit eghæt, oc latæ mæn nytæ iaf næth tha thurftæ man ækki logh with. æn ængi logh ær æmgoth at fylghæ sum sannænd. Hwaræ sum man æuer um sannænd, thær skal logh letæ hwilkt ræt th ær. waræ æi logh a landæ tha hafuæ hin mest thær mest matæ gripæ. thy skal logh æftær allæ mæn gøræs. at rætæ men oc spakæ. oc sakløsæ nytæ theræ ræt oc spæcthæ oc folæ oc vrætæ mæn ræthæs thet thær i loghæn ær scriuæn. oc thuræ æi for thy fulcummæ theræ unskop thær thæ hauæ i hughæ, wæl ær thæt oc ræt at thæn thær gusz ræszlæ. oc rætæns ælskugh ma æi lokkæ til goz. at thæn th høfthings ræslæ oc lan dæns withærlogh forfangæ them at gø ræ illæ, oc pinæ them of the gøræ illæ.

With law shall a land be built. But if each were content with his own and would let others enjoy the same right, there would be no need of a law. No law is as good to obey as the truth, but wherever one is in doubt about the truth, there the law shall show what is true. If there were no law in the land, then he would have the most who could grab the most. Therefore the law shall be made for all men, so that righteous and peaceful and guiltless men shall enjoy their rights and tranquility, while evil and unjust men shall fear what is written in the law and therefore not dare to commit the evil they have in mind. It is also right that anyone whom the fear of God and love of justice cannot attract to the good should be prevented by the fear of authority and the law of the land from doing evil and should be punished if they do evil.

TEXTS 231

(ODa: Jutland Law, Prologue, p. 1. MS the Flensborg MS, c. 1300. Law probably written c. 1241. Facsimile (as 'Tekst III') in *Danmarks gamle Love*, vol. 3, p. 77. Text pub. by P. G. Thorsen in 1853. Da translation in Kroman and Iuul, *Skannske lov og jyske lov*, 2. ed., Copenhagen 1959.)

(c) Sweden 1: The confusion of Babel as retold in the OSw paraphrase

was off male man resterribes or talax namenth we marthom wedge at an bome his flook four was 1 was frohms dashoffa to til or beggio fin hoghan Auch at hogeth tornet pathes temble not allow totte the read or been de taghar the nav or morphoto gul or haffor the file frenchistic lande fritte fina feet 102th at honaloffy entre vagu allow both or the total halfde the for him. This same nonwest that five my bil daare at han trofte fib man de varda som balduga i humblo form ha was a sossiffine of the free the bythe fasher or starte were to digite or hopher that talke was hora til amalanar & Ben huller dans or humbs dans secret the gisa or trofta fik at fillbong fin will a Min vilion with ha thin my top at englishers windrestance annual mant oc fine file lines dade fine thungs

war eth mæle innan iorderikis oc talar næmroth/ wi maghom rædas at æn komme slik flodh som war j waars fadhurs daghom/ farom til oc byggiom swa høghan stadh at høgxta tornet nalkis himblenom/ allom totte thet raad oc brænde taghar ther nær oc giordho te-

¶ Nw

de taghar ther nær oc giordho tegil/ oc haffdo thet før stena/ j the lande hittis swa segh iordh at hona løsir enkte rægn ællir vatn/ oc the iordh haffdo the før lim. ¶Thænne samme næmrot war swa

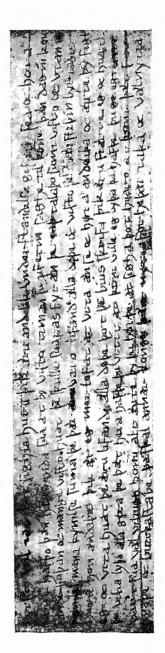
mykil daare at han trøste sik maaga varda iæm valdugan j himblom som han var a iordhinne ¶ Nw som the bygdo fastas oc stadhen væxte dighir oc høghir/ tha talar var hærra til ænglanar ¶ Sen hulkir dara oc huilka dara gærdh the gøra oc trøsta sik at fulkomna sin wilia ¶ Nw viliom wi skilia them met thy at enghin thera wndirstande annars maal. oc swa fik huar slækt sina thungo

Now there was one speech on the earth, and Nimrod says, 'We can fear that there may again come such a flood as there was in our father's days. Let us go and build so tall a city that the highest tower will approach the heavens.' They all thought this was a good idea, and so they burned [clay] near there and made bricks and used them as stones. In that country there exists such a sticky soil that no rain

or water can dissolve it, and this soil they used as mortar. This same Nimrod was so great a fool that he thought he could become as powerful in heaven as he was on earth. Now as they were building away, and the city grew bigger and higher, then our Lord speaks to the angels: 'Look what fools [they are] and what a fools' deed they are doing, thinking that they can fulfill their will. Now we shall part them in such a way that none of them will understand the other's language.' And in this way each race got its own tongue.

(OSw: The Pentateuch Paraphrase, Genesis 11: 1-9. MS B (c. 1526), Cod. Holm. A 1, p. 190; faithful copy of earlier MS from 1330-50. Ed. by O. Thorell 1959: 134.)

TEXTS 233



(d) Sweden 2: The Virgin Mary instructs St. Birgitta on spiritual understanding

[1] fyrst vil iac þik sighia huru þik æru andelik vnderstandilse gifin sea oc hora

[2] sumi hafþo þæn hælghanda sua at þe visto timan sum profetin saghe til konunge þæn dagin koma

[3] sænde-boþan oc mange visto huat þem skulle suaras fyr æn þe talaþo sumi visto oc vtan

[4] mana kynilse suma þem þær varo lifande ælla døþe oc visto þe fyr æn st[r]iþin byriadis

[5] huru hon ændaþis þik ær eg mer lofat at vita æn se oc høra andelika oc æpte þy sighi[a]

[6] eg oc vita huat þe æru lifande ælla døþe þot þem biu[þ]s skrifa þik æru fiærre eg oc huat

[7] þe vilia lyþa ælla gøra þe þæt hera hafþe þu vitit at kon*ung*i ville eg lyþa þa hafþe þu egi

[8] varit sua væl viliugh honum alt æpte þy þu hørþe at sigha þot huaro at konungi þæt for

[9] smaþe oc burtkastaþe þa skal annar konunge þæt for heþar taka oc vælnytia

[1] First I will tell you how spiritual understanding is given you to see and hear.

[2] Some [saints] had the holy spirit such that they knew the hour, as [when] the prophet told the king, 'On that day comes

[3] the messenger.' And many knew

what should be answered those [who asked] even before they spoke. Some also knew without

- [4] men's telling them who were living or dead, and they knew before the battle began
- [5] how it would end. You are granted no more knowledge than to see and hear spiritually and to speak according to that;
- [6] nor to know whether they are living or dead, though you are commanded to write to those who are far from you; nor whether
- [7] they will listen to [it] or do it. Had you known that the king would not listen, then you would not have
- [8] been so friendly to him, after all that you heard tell. Even though the king
- [9] despised and rejected [your message], another king will restore it to honor and make good use of it.

(OSw: The opening lines on one of the three leaves remaining in St. Birgitta's own hand, probably from 1367 (MS KB A65); facsimile and transcription in B. Högman, ed., *Heliga Birgittas originaltexter*, Uppsala 1951, SSFS vol. 205. Probably a rough draft, hastily and somewhat incoherently written, without punctuation and with many strikeouts and errors. The same material, more formally presented, is in her *Revelaciones*, Book 8, ch. 56.)

(e) Gotland: The power of words

maira ba sai han oc bau hengiaaf oque C39. Dencepins or un manni sugurbins or in prausti oc casua bingi Provocombi oc soch saugri Provocombi oc soch saugri sugurbins or mandi verpe siirir schou oquepins orbun pascai fara hann ul ga in til ku chiui mip patin hasi metroc stefua ha nu til ku chiui mip sain su ostina un metro si ha orbun op sin ari taka paun su ostinu un metro si propa op si cha op propa orbun mannii firi socua manii si cha alba paun su metu ocua manii si sa ocua manii si sa ocua manii si sa ocua manii si sa ocua manii si sa ocua manii si sa ocua manii si sa ocua manii si sa ocua manii af oquebins orbum

Oquebins orb iru manni fiugur
biaufr. oc morbingi. rauferi. oc casna
vargr En vm cunu iru fem biaufr. oc mor
bingi. hordombr. oc fordeb sciepr. oc casna
wargr ¶ þa en mandr verþr firir sclicum
oquebins orbum þa scal fara haim til ga
rz hinum sum þaim hafr melt. oc stefna ha
num til kirchiur miþ schielum. oc biþia orb
sin atr taka. þaun sum osinum iru melt. i. stri
þi eþa vpp dryckiu. ¶ þa en hann dyl. þa
sueri miþ þrim mannum firi socna mannum
er hann aldri þaun orþ melti ¶

Concerning Words of Abuse. For a man there are four words of abuse: 'thief', 'murderer', 'robber' and 'firebug'. But for a woman there are five: 'thief', 'murderer', 'whoredom', 'witchcraft' and 'firebug'. Now if a man comes in for such words of abuse, then he shall go home to the farm of the one who has spoken them and lawfully summon him to church, and ask him to take back his words, those which unintentionally are spoken in strife or drunkenness. Now if he denies, then he shall swear with three men before the officials that he never spoke those words.

(OGu: The Law of Gotland [Guta Lag], ch. 39, lines 1–12. Orig. written c. 1220; MS Cod. Holm. B 64, facs. ed. by E. Wessén in Corpus codicum suecicorum medii aevi (1945), date c. 1350.)

#### (f) Norway 1: The king scolds his subjects

Builty. R lend color operators being on I looking pulled port you oil, que. I was evanu hat there is not not to present the second port of the party

Philippus konungr sender ollum Morsdælom þeim er j lyðni villia vera við oss. queðiu Guðs ok sina. Vm eighn þa / ok uttvægh er Jngi konungr gaf til hauwðeyiar or bæ þeim er aspar heita a Folloe ser til / miskunnar þa er oss saght at þer haveð genget a meðr kappe ok agirnd ok malghat þa / eign með rangyndum ok unyta sva. fyrir munkum j hauwðey. Nu hava þeir loghuun / nitt eighnena sem Simun logh maðr hevir laogh um skyrt. Nu ef nokor maðr / verðr sua diarfr at hann gerer þeim nokot spial virki 'eða' lan bum þeira. a gaurðum / eða grindum eða a þui er til heivir leghet at forno eða nyiu þa skall hann engo / fyrir koma nema livi eða limum ef ver meghom na honom. Walete.

King Philippus sends to all Mors-dwellers who wish to be loyal to us God's greeting and his own. About the property and outlying fields that King Ingi gave to Hǫfuðey [monastery] of the farm that is named Aspar in Follo for the mercy of his soul, we are told that you have attacked it with force and greed and wrongfully claimed it and so made it useless to the monks at Hǫfuðey. Now they acquired the property lawfully, as lawman Simon explained the law. Now if anyone is so audacious as to work any harm for them or their tenants on their farms or their fences or any possession old or new, then he shall do no less than lose his life or limbs, if we can reach him. Valete!

(ONw: oldest preserved royal charter, c. 1210. Norw. National Archives, transcription in DN 1, p. 3 (I.3).)

## (g) Norway 2: A father teaches his son proper manners

heimi oczanicii indiat hij prade hopm or pocuid en hij punci yijida ochopu hij fear mangres cernalipede Ca buil franific betyre ochenda Bulbolum we ibrigory migrid half cralled theprice from or blika with med ampolitu ac kyalic ac artyle place thence golden colyrika a kella i bacyer manggalldem ac kyabb an pleng yan gub cuam ia kalle gullegf napul. Daffer inc ganga cotel at ham from mail mauch hingra acplean yan guli in anij ay mali mangpalladou ac kyadi yarı atjenaşıı ballac over h recliga cal theread or prorting acam polld fe uru ocherlogh ham white rum ella with the ac ganga at recent prosignen blu sey bee that segge cal pulls bælle roda ha maggi yre ari planta valpinna. Ou are beth ho da ma bec leida ed politrat skilomgar pa margli yar yariydaa oorafa room edailb inga um ja lucialia er þa fpuiser.

or hier inser furnar mer per 5 4111 or hier mer yara belle faminger och o naubihnleger av f hyrikal hælde æm paldar en mangpalder oll av kysik tel mangpalder oll av kysik tel mangpalder oll av kysik tel mangpalder oll av kysik tel mangpalder oll av kysik tel mangpalder oll av kysik tel mangpalder oll av kysik tel mangpalder oll av hier er en och paldar per her er er er hyrika mm yerall dar rikal mang horoll av hysik hyricibarer

ed for margratikar co ampalikan-Charer bo orantiform paden Sac i ha fis bjeta beer wera mælic al relat manna mad warmpallon ac low he hands on autopalido as heparitus marij hapa h punjuc k and paridu och upuc h lidan mart vil fillyanno mate allii yrozii motili be boyeskû bêi cû lombar lam yiber mache oc cul berfer komiñ ac bragua form Bar achyale. Ombarca arm ruija beat vil er prazijdymido ikipako hmitom an hyabi ac rikil mæji em migi læm ænji huera dijaka faer i fer æmi bær abjesto oc finn higher ocapire pa marif spot as yearest Inhopfingrar bera ahregun polluber er under beim eto at pionofto ela ao yellde och ava berrangrænd mant fyr inmig halld argu ber per manga for aceptered seem good hopdings predictions ha execute there seem many matte heelthe er fi mekal malla alli hem erzy homi. voco ceptrallo esta lomister ocer bemaster yardemije i fer liban er bere milla bos Singra find enheur pare mathant light me ma by acame at la kom amak in the en benn is rans prelyttelle from his corn sell. Humael by an hoffinger halle. my med mound hourspenges worki ocasidiyed ocmanypaller abjects. ha or fivel cal inequality bet call value

[from col. 1, line 4, to col. 2, line 23]:

[Faðer:] Nu skolum ver firi þvi gofga æinn guð þann er allarr

skepnur þiona oc biðia til hans mæð æinfolldu atkvæðe at æi þyðez flærðsamer guðarr til varra akalla firi þat at ver margfalldem atkvæðe at fleiri væri guð en æinn íákalli guðlegs nafns. Þæsser luter ganga oc til at skamsynir mænn mætte þat hyggia at fleiri væ[r]i guð en æinn æf mæð margfalldaðu at kvæðe væri ahans nafn kallat oc er þat retliga tilskipað oc vitrlega at æinfolld stætru oc heilogh hafi ækki rum eða illu stig at ganga af rettre þioðgatu. Nu æf þer skilz æigi til fullz þæsse ræða þa mægum vit ænn flæira til finna. En æf þæssi ræða ma þec leiða til fullrar skilningar þa mægum vit væl vikia occarri ræðu til anndsvara um þa luti aðra er þu spurðer.

Sunr: Þæsser luter skiliaz mer væl oc þycki mer væra bæde sannliger oc þo nauðsynlegir at firi þvi skal hælldr æinfalldaz en margfalldaz oll at kvæðe til guðs at hvarki mægi rett tru spillaz firi margfallt at kvæðe. oc æigi mægi slægir uvinir unnder þyðazt þat akall er æinfolld tru oc rett visar þeim ífra. En ec vil nu at þer skyrit þat firi mer er ec spurða um væralldar rikis mænn hvi oll at kvæðe þætti bætr [col. 2] til þæirra margfalldat en æinfalldat.

Faðer: Þar er þo ærnu firi svarat at firi þa soc þycki bætr væra mællt til rikis manna mæð margfalldu at kvæðe hælldr en æinfalldo. at hovæskir mænn hafa þat funnit firi andværðu oc hævir þat siðan snuiz til siðvænio mæðr allum vitrum monnum oc hovæskum þeim til sæmðar sæm við er mælt. oc til þærs er kominn at þiggia sæmðar at kvæðe. En þætta æfni funnu þeir til er fra anndværðo skipaðo þæssom atkvæðum at rikis mænn ero æigi sæm æinn hværr annarra sa er firi ser æinum bærr ahyggio oc sinu hyski oc a firi fa mænn svor at væita En hofðingiar bæra ahyggiu firi ollum þeim er unnder þeim ero at þionosto eða at vællde oc hafa þeir æigi æins mannz svor í munni hælldr æigu þeir firi marga svor at væita oc æf goðr hofðingi fællr ífra þa er æigi sæm æins mannz missi hælldr er þat mikil missa allum þeim er af honum toco uphalld eða sæmðer oc er sæm allir værði minni firi ser siðan . . .

[Father:] Now we shall worship the one God whom all creatures serve and pray to Him with singular address, in order that it shall not be interpreted as if false gods are the objects of our prayers, since we would make our address plural if there were more than one God in our prayers. These are further reasons, that foolish men might think that there is more than one God if His name were spoken with plural address, and this is rightly and wisely ordered that simple and holy

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faith shall not have room or path on which to stray from the right road. Now if you do not fully understand this speech, we shall find more things to say about it. But if this speech can lead you to full understanding, then we could well turn our speech to answering those other questions you raised.

Son: These things I well understand, and it seems to me they are both true and needful, that all address to God should be singular rather than plural so that nowhere will the true faith be lost through plural address, and deceitful enemies will not misinterpret the prayer in a way that simple faith and truth rejects. But I would now ask that you explain to me what I asked about the rulers of the world: why is it thought better to address them in the plural than in the singular?

Father: To this it should be enough to answer that it is better to speak to rulers with plural than singular address because courteous men have found it should be so in ancient days and since then it has become the custom among all wise and courteous men to honor those with whom they speak and who have the right to be respectfully addressed. The reason those who established this address to rulers did so in ancient days was that rulers are not like anyone else who has in his care only himself and his household and has to answer only for a few people. Chieftains have in their care all those who are their servants or their subjects, and they must answer not for one man but for many, and if a good chieftain dies, it is not like one man's loss, but rather is it a great loss for all those who got their support or honor from him, and it is as if all are lesser men after that . . .

(ONw: Konungs skuggsiá (The King's Mirror), p. 63. MS AM 243 ba, fol.; c. 1275, from an original written between 1240 and 1263. A textbook for kings—and their subjects, cast in the form of a dialogue between father and son. Note that the son addresses his father in the plural, while the father answers in the singular.)

(h) Iceland 1: The dwarf Allwise tells Thor the names of things in every world

p fair h. Cfarilds f. ha. Diech in m. en ban mig. h. method warh, cre in alleing stime h. ibeho british. In f. h. de hint correct alka f. h. . Of h. m; m. en m. alo bion h. nomble foreign hinteria. Interior en else march h. formble foreign foreign derivative et en alarem placer noma face, me la calabate march me la calabate m

Segðv mer hve þat sáþ heitir er sá alda synir heimi hveriom i. ByG heitir meþ monnom. eN baR meþ goðom kalla vaxt vanir. eti iautnar alfar lagastaf kalla i helio hnipiN. Segðv mer hve þat aul heitir er drecca alda synir heimi hveriom i. Øl heitir meþ monnom. eN meþ asom bioR kalla veig vanir hreina laug iautnar eN i helio mioþ kalla symbl syttvngs synir. I eino briosti ec sác aldregi fleiri forna stafi. miclom talom ec qveð teldan þic vppi ertv dvergr vm dagaþr. nv sciN sól i sali.

- 31. 'Tell me, [Allwise] . . . how the seed is called that the sons of men sow in every world.'
- 32. "Barley" it is among men, the "bearer" among gods, the Vanir call it "victuals"; for the giants it's "eats", "ale-starter" among elves, and in Hel they call it "hang-head".
- 33. 'Tell me, [Allwise] . . . how the ale is called that the sons of men drink in every world.'
- 34. "Ale" it is among men, but "beer" with the gods, the Vanir call it "wassail";"pure seawater" say the giants, while in Hel it's "mead", "a feast" say the sons of Suttung.
- 35. 'In a single breast I never saw more of ancient lore; but wily words have tricked you.

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The dawn has caught you, dwarf—in the hall the sun is shining!'

(OIc: 'The Lay of Allwise' (Alvíssmál), st. 31-5, in the *Poetic Edda*. See Kuhn's edition for normalized text. MS Codex Regius Nks 2365, p. 39, c. 1275, while the poem is older than 1200. A list of poetic metaphors for some common terms, cast in the form of a dialogue between the dwarf Allwise and the god Thor.)

#### (i) Iceland 2: How the old gods brought their language to Norden

tigen die indie eines eines dan die kom die solle Epter þat for hann norðr þar til er siar tok við honum sa er þeir hugðu at lægi um lond oll ok setti þar son sinn til þess rikiss er nu heiter noregr sa het sæmingr ok telia þar noregs konungar sinar ætter til hans ok sua iarlar ok aðrer rikis menn. Sva sem seger i halæygia tali. En oðenn hafði með ser þann son sinn er yngvi er nefndr er konungr var i suiþioðu epter hann. ok eru af honum komnar þær ætter er ynglingar eru kallaðer. Þeir æser toku ser kuan fong þar innan landz en sumir sonum sinum ok wrðu þessar ætter fiolmennar sua at um sax land ok allt þaðan um norðr haalfur dreifðiz sua at þeira tunga asia manna var æigin tunga vm oll þessi lond. ok þat þikkiaz menn skynia mega af þui er rituð eru langfeðga nofn þeira. at þau nofn hafa fylgt þessi tungu ok þeir æser hafa haft tunguna norðr hingat i heim i noreg ok suiþioð i danmork ok sax land. ok i englandi eru forn landz heiti eða staða þau er skilia má at af annaRi tungu eru gefen en þessi.

After that he [Odin] journeyed northwards until the sea met him, the one they thought encircled all lands, and there he placed his son over the kingdom that is now called Norway. He was called Sæmingr,

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and the kings of Norway trace their families back to him, as do the earls and other powerful men, as it is told in the [poem] 'Háleygjatal'. Odin also brought with him his son Yngvi, who followed him as king of Sweden. And from him are descended the kin that is known as the Ynglings. The gods [Æsir] married women from that country, as did some of their sons, and after that this kin grew so numerous in Germany [Saxland] and all over northern Europe that the tongue of the men from Asia became the native tongue in all these countries. And men think they can understand this from the way the names of their ancestors are written, that the names have come with this tongue, and that the Æsir have brought the tongue home here to Norway and Sweden, to Denmark and Germany. And in England there are old names of the land or of places which one can tell that they are given from another tongue than this one.

(OIc: The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson, end of the Prologue. MS Codex Wormianus, AM 242, c. 1340–50, from an original written c. 1223. Snorri's derivation of Æsir from Asia was a plausible one, though it has been proven wrong; but his story shows a keen awareness of the unity of the Germanic languages, as contrasted with the Classical languages and Irish.)

#### (j) Iceland 3: The First Grammarian's proposed alphabet

guất họi lị thou. Thu vm pày màn et rita val e nama ao varu mat ruid an naờ ruggia heất phốt ngar giág có aut vai của ở thuật ở m valt thựn tạm lịch nam ao khua chả chá chá liệt định làm; i puố tak raith aố tì vi qua ma luia thựn tạm helio en ọng va ha era motal vin enar ment. Pa thết petra kapitim vand coa ở bari tạn runggu tuổu mun purpa z mere vultam mina coa m varitime vi kinenku, hapi thap cop pin ở hể crasto ruid việt that ter da oà có có có có uủ yỷ bb c to do ff g 5. 4 h. 14 m. oi. n. t. p. 1. r. R. 19. v. T. x. h. 9. 9. 4 - 1

25 guðs hylli skiott. Nu um þann mann er rita vill eða nema að varu mali ritið. an

nað tueggia helg*ar* þyðingar eða lǫg eðr att visi eða s*ua* huergi er m*aðr* vill skynsamlegha

nytsemi a bok nema eðr kenna enda se h*ann sua* litil laatr i froðleiks aastinni að h*ann* vili ne ma litla skynsemi heldr en ongva þa er a meðal v*er* ðr enar meiri. þa lese h*ann* þetta

kapit*ulu*m vandlega. *ok* bæti sem i mǫrgu*m* stoðu*m* mun þurfa *ok* mete viðlaun mina

30 en varkynne u kiænsku. hafi staf rof þetta er her er aaðr ritað unnz hann fær þat er

honum likar betr. a à Q ộ e è ệ ệ 1 i o ô ø ø u û y ỳ b B c K d D f F g G

<sup>Agh H</sup> mMnNpPrRsStTxb ~ 2 ≤ -1

<sup>25</sup> quickly [gain] the grace of God. Now any man who wishes to write or to learn that which is written in our language,

whether it be sacred writings or laws or genealogies or whatever useful knowledge

a man would learn or teach from books if he is humble enough in his love of learning

so that he will rather gain a little insight than none, until there is a chance for more—then let him read this

treatise with care, and improve it, as it no doubt needs in many places, let him value my efforts

3° and excuse my ignorance, and let him use the alphabet which has already been written here until he gets one that

he likes better. [For alphabet see above.]

(OIc: First Grammatical Treatise, MS 1340-50, written by anonymous author c. 1150. Codex Wormianus, AM 242. Quotation is from end, where he displays his proposed reform alphabet of OIc, showing umlauts and nasalized vowels. See ed. by E. Haugen, 1972, for normalized text; now also H. Benediktsson 1972.)

#### References

10.1 Church and State. There is a vast literature on the Sc Middle Ages in the original languages; see especially Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder (Cop. 1956—; here abbrev. KL). In English see the general histories (now outdated) by Hallendorff and Schück (1929), Gjerset (1915, 1924), K. Larsen (1948), Danstrup (1948). German (and especially Hanseatic) influence in Scandinavia is the subject of numerous studies; see esp. Ahnlund (1929) on the Germans in Stockholm. For an introduction see Markey 1969: 35–47.

10.2 Clerks and Manuscripts. Lists of MSS for this period are found for ONw in Seip 1955: 86-100, 225-40 (now Seip-Saltveit 1971: 516-22);

less complete in Noreen 1923: 21-6; for OIc in Jóhannesson 1924: 23-40 and Noreen 1923: 10-15; for ODa in Brøndum-Nielsen GG 1. 31-49; for OSw in Noreen 1904: 8-16. Some leading collections of charters are Diplomatarium norvegicum (1847-, 21 vols. by 1970); Diplomatarium islandicum (1857-1932, 12 vols.); Diplomatarium faeroense (1907); Diplomatarium suecanum (1829-, 10 vols. by 1970). Literary histories in Eng: for ONw Beyer (1956), OIc Einarsson (1957), ODa Mitchell (1957), OSw Gustafson (1961); for OIc these more general works may be supplemented by Turville-Petre (1953). Reading selections: for ODa Bertelsen (1905), for OSw E. Noreen (1943).

ro.3 The Runic Tradition. See references in 9.3. Runic manuals that also treat medieval runes are v. Friesen (1933c), Arntz (1944), Marquardt (1961), Jansson (1963), Musset (1965), Düwel (1968). The Bergen materials are still unpublished, except for the articles listed by A. Liestøl (through whose kindness I have been able to see and study the entire material).

10.4 The Latin Alphabet. Excellent articles with bibliographies are found in KL (1956–) by E. Kroman and D. A. Seip (e.g. 'Abbreviaturer', 'Alfabet', 'Angelsaksisk skrift', 'Diplomskrift', 'Duktus', 'Gotisk skrift', 'Insularskrift', 'Interpunksjon', 'Kapitaler', 'Karolingisk skrift', 'Kursivskrift', 'Ligaturer', 'Skrift'). See also the paleographic volume of NoKu (1944–54) by S. Jansson, E. Kroman and D. A. Seip. On Da writing see the survey with specimens by Kroman (1943, 2. ed. 1964). Comprehensive collections of paleographic samples were first made by K. Kålund for OIc and ONw (1905–7), for ODa and OSw (1903). For OIc these are now outdated by H. Benediktsson (1965), with an important introduction on the development of OIc script; on this see also Spehr (1929). The graphemic problems are surveyed by G. Lindblad in KL vol. 13 (s.v. Ortografi). A pioneering study in ODa graphemics is Diderichsen (1938). On the FGT see Holtsmark (1936), Haugen (1950, rev. ed. 1972), Benediktsson (1972).

ro.5 The Old Scandinavian Dialects. This period is treated in detail for ODa by Skautrup 1. 182–310 and by Brøndum-Nielsen in GG under 'ældre Middeldansk'. For OSw see Wessén SSpr 'den äldre fornsvenskan' and Noreen (1904) under 'klassische altschwedisch'; for ONw Seip NSpr 60–343 and Indrebø NM 'gamalnorsk' 94–153. On the Go element see Wessén (1928).

10.6 Loanwords and Lexicon. See Skautrup 1. 289–302, bibliography 335–6. For ODa M. Kristensen (1906) and E. Jørgensen (1908); for ONw Taranger (1890); for OIc B. Kahle (1890) and F. Fischer (1909). A classic study of OSw religious terminology is C.-E. Thors (1957). On Lat influence see Blatt (1939), Berulfsen 1948: 318–51 and (1963–4). A survey of Ger influence with full bibliography is Johannisson (1968).

## Chapter 11

# From Medieval to Modern (1350–1550): Middle Scandinavian

II.I Union and Disunion. The century and a half which is known in histories as 'the age of Scandinavian union' was in fact a period of disunity and disarray. Queen Margaret was committed to making Denmark the master of Norway and Sweden in perpetuity, but the very document of union which she extracted from the Swedish and Norwegian councillors at Kalmar in 1397 was never ratified. It provided that each country should be ruled by its own laws and its own men, and that the succession to the joint kingship should be decided by election in each country. When Margaret's son Olaf died young (1387), she chose Eric of Pomerania, a German prince and her sister's grandson, to be her heir; but she continued to exercise the power until her death in 1412. Eric and his successors faced the problem of protecting the southern border against Mecklenburg, Holstein and other German powers, including the Hanseatic League, while trying to control what was geographically the largest kingdom in Europe. Denmark's strength was based on the fact that of an estimated 1,500,000 inhabitants in Scandinavia, one half were Danish (Schück et al. 1915: 182). The decimation of the Black Death had left perhaps 250,000 persons in Norway, 500,000 in Sweden and 40,000 in Iceland (Jóhannesson 1928). Only by constantly visiting these countries and reaffirming their power could the kings hope to control them.

The consequence was that for long periods during the union, the two weaker countries were left without central government. While the kings were off warring, rebellions broke out. In 1434 a revolt led by Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson made him regent of Sweden until his murder in 1436. His successor, Karl Knutsson, succeeded in making himself king in 1448, the same year as Count Christian of Oldenburg was elected king of Denmark as Christiern I. The nobles of Sweden

were split into two parties, one favoring the union, the other a national monarchy. From this time until the end of the century Sweden was the scene of confusing civil wars and changes in regime.

II.I.I. In the economically prostrate Norway ineffectual rebellions broke out in 1436 and 1438. An attempt to support the Swedish Karl Knutsson against the Danes in 1449 also failed and was followed by the coronation of Christiern I as Norwegian king in 1450. In the same year a treaty of everlasting union between Norway and Denmark was signed by councillors of both countries; the document was composed in Danish. Under Christiern I the old Norwegian possessions, the Orkneys and Shetlands, were pledged to Scotland as a dowry for the king's daughter: the Norse inhabitants of Greenland were allowed to die out; and trade with Iceland slipped into the hands of English and German traders. The natural guardians of Norwegian independence, the nobility, had virtually died out and had been replaced by Danes. Norwegian resistance, such as it was, was directed by the archbishops of the Church, culminating in Olav Engelbrektsson, whose abortive revolt ended in 1537 with his flight to the Netherlands. The Danish government had then just (1536) decided to replace Catholicism with a Lutheran State Church. It was decreed that Norway should 'be and remain under the crown of Denmark like any of the other lands, Jutland, Fyn, Sjælland, or Skåne, and not hereafter be or be called a kingdom of its own, but a part of the Danish kingdom and under the crown of Denmark for all time'.

policies. The Swedish nobility was powerful and developed eminent leaders like the two Sten Stures, the elder and the younger, who maintained a period of Swedish self-rule (1471–1520). The nobility alternately supported and resisted Danish attempts to extend the royal privileges. Outside powers began taking a hand, including for the first time Russia, which, as an ally of Denmark, attacked Finland unsuccessfully in 1495. Lübeck and the Hanseatic cities supported Sweden in the perennial Dano-Swedish wars in the early sixteenth century, thereby protecting their trade interests and gaining a strong financial hold over the new government. Nevertheless the Danish Christiern II succeeded in his conquest of Sweden and was crowned there in 1520. At his coronation he treacherously massacred the leaders of the nobility that had resisted him. One who escaped his power, Gustaf (Latinized as Gustavus) Vasa, succeeded in raising a

rebellion which (with aid from Lübeck) resulted in his establishment as king in 1523. To meet the financial obligations to Lübeck the new king sacrificed the Church and confiscated its wealth. In 1527 he initiated the process that led to a Swedish national Church, with Lutheran doctrine under royal control.

In the struggles of the dying Middle Ages in Scandinavia a new force was making itself felt: the concept of national unity symbolized by the king and enforced by his administration. Queen Margaret had represented an all-Scandinavian realm with its power base in Copenhagen under the aegis of the universal Church, a typically medieval concept. Those Swedes (e.g. Hemming Gadh) who opposed absorption in this realm found it necessary to appeal to sentiments of patriotism and to stir up an anti-Danish chauvinism, a novel and typically modern concept, which welded Swedes of all classes together and made it possible for Gustavus Vasa to build an enduring State, with its own Church and its own national myth.

So the union ended with a divided Norden, in which a new alignment of forces had sprung up. There were now two centers of power, an old one in Copenhagen and a new, aggressive rival in Stockholm. Denmark maintained her hold in southern Sweden and Gotland, though these were strongly exposed to the new Swedish power. But most of the Danish possessions were in the west, where Denmark fell heir to Norway and the old Norwegian empire, including the Faroes, Iceland and Greenland.

II.I.3. The Reformation came as a godsend to the Danish king Frederik I as well; he encouraged Lutheran preachers like Hans Tavsen from 1526, and in the course of a decade eliminated monks and masses from his realm. The Danish Lutheran Church was formally established in 1537, not only in Denmark, but by royal decree in all Danish possessions. Linguistically this meant a strengthening of Da, which replaced Latin in the service and therefore in the Bible. The last Nw archbishop fled, as noted, and the Ic bishop of Skálholt, Jón Arason, was beheaded in 1550.

Not only was all thought of union past, but a cultural revolution had been initiated, which meant the sweeping away of all that we associate with the term 'the Middle Ages'. The Church, which had been the chief bearer, not only of international European culture, but also of native culture, was reduced to an arm of the royal power. Churches were plundered of their art treasures, libraries were

scattered and 'popish' books destroyed. It would take time before a new literary culture could be built on the ruins of the old.

- than in the preceding periods, but they are less original in content and more dependent on European models channeled from the south. Their linguistic value is a good deal greater than their literary or cultural merit. The demand for reading materials was satisfied by diligent copying of earlier manuscripts, until the invention of printing in the mid fifteenth century made copying superfluous, though not obsolete.
- 11.2.1. Even before this, paper had begun to take over the role of parchment, which was now reserved for documents of special significance. The first known Danish letter on paper is from 1377, but it took another century before paper gradually replaced parchment. The usual manuscript handwriting was still the angular Gothic (10.4.6), which became a model for the new movable type brought from Germany. The first printer was J. Snell, who printed the first book in Denmark in 1482, in Sweden in 1483, both in Latin. The first printed books in the native languages appeared in 1495, in Da Den danske rimkrønike (a rhymed history of Denmark) and in Sw Aff dyäfwlsens frästilse ('Concerning the temptations of the devil', a translation from the French). In daily life a cursive hand was used, which approached more and more to modern handwriting as more people learned to read and write in the newly established schools (Kroman 1964: 14). Gothic script remained the usual Sc hand as well as typeface, except that after 1522 Humanistic influence encouraged the alternate use of the Latin or 'Italian' hand, especially for Latin texts and even for Latin words in native texts.
- 11.2.2. The geographical distribution of documents reflects the centralization of cultural and literary life in the capitals of Copenhagen and Stockholm, to which we may add the monastery of Vadstena, where St. Birgitta founded her famous order. A large part of the recorded texts stemmed from the political authorities themselves and helped to shape the new standard norms. Queen Margaret's decision in 1370 to use Danish rather than Latin in the administration contributed to the strength of Danish vis-à-vis the other languages, especially Norwegian. Danish sources are numerous and extensive; they cover the entire range of genres listed below. So do the Swedish sources, which have been published by Svenska

Fornskriftsällskapet in admirable editions running to nearly a hundred volumes. The Norwegian materials, however, gradually thinned out as the centers of government were removed to Sweden and Denmark, and comprised only the kinds of writing that the common people in each country had left to them, viz. deeds, contracts and other matters of legal record. A turning-point was the year 1450, when King Christiern I moved the royal chancery from Norway to Denmark and henceforth issued royal documents in Danish only. In the more local documents Norwegian forms persisted for another century (Kolsrud 1914). Not until well after the Reformation, c. 1550, did Norwegians begin writing original works again, and then in their new Danishbased language. A few scattered documents survive from Orkney and Shetland before these were lost in the fifteenth century; Faroese is barely documented (Sørlie 1036). In Iceland, however, there was no interruption in the literary tradition. Since writing was a folk activity, not limited to the clergy, and not supported by any officialdom, the political and economic vicissitudes of the island merely reduced the quality of writing, hardly the quantity. Not only was there incessant copying of old manuscripts, which rescued most of the older literature for us, but also the production of an astonishing amount of new writing.

- 11.2.3. The sources fall into these five overlapping genres: (1) legal and administrative documents; (2) religious writings; (3) historical narrative; (4) didactic-expository writing; (5) literary entertainment.
- (1) Legal and administrative documents. The laws were diligently copied, though not greatly renewed except by an occasional amendment (ON réttarbót). In Denmark more than a hundred copies of the laws are known, many by professional scribes. Even more exist of the Ic Jónsbók: at least 115 before 1600 (Porkelsson 1888: 12). New laws came into being for cities, guilds and other legal entities. More important for linguistic purposes are the thousands of diplomas (charters), most of which are dated and localized. These are legal and commercial documents, both official and private in nature, including proclamations, judgments, deeds, wills, contracts and letters, mostly in a severely stylized format. They have been published in voluminous diplomataria from each country. The Da material is so rich that only a fraction of it has so far been published; according to Skautrup (2. 14) about 20,000 diplomas are known between 1350 and 1500. Personal

letters were rare; an unusual collection is that of the fiery Sw leader Hemming Gadh (1498–1520). City court records are available in the Sw tänkeböcker (MLG denkebok), the oldest being Kalmar's (c. 1400). Important material, especially for place-name studies, is found in the land records (jordebøker); among the relatively few that have been preserved from this period is Bishop Øystein's from the bishopric of Oslo (1388–1401).

- (2) Religious writings. Prior to the Reformation the Bible was translated only in part, e.g. twelve books of the Old Testament into Da from the Vulgate (end of fifteenth century), a similar selection into Sw, as well as a notable paraphrase of the Pentateuch (c. 1350). There was, however, a flourishing hagiographical and homiletic literature, most of it translated, through which the concepts of Christianity were taught to the multitude (see esp. Fornsvenska legendariet, MS c. 1350). Sweden took the lead here through the diligence of the monks and nuns of Vadstena and other monasteries and the visionary eminence of St. Birgitta (c. 1302-73). Her revelations were taken down in Latin, but they were translated into Swedish after her death (c. 1380). The MLG Seelentrost (c. 1350) was translated into Sw c. 1440 at Vadstena as Siælinna thrøst and then into Scanian Da as Siæla Trøst. Under the leadership of the reformers Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreæ the New Testament appeared in Sw in 1526 (the whole Bible in 1541). In Denmark Christiern Pedersen translated the New Testament in 1529 (and provided the basis of the Bible of 1550). There was no Nw translation, but Oddur Gottskalksson's New Testament (1540) became the first printed book in Ic.
- (3) Historical narrative. Annals, with more or less contemporary notices about important historical events, were found in Denmark (1410-72), but reached their highest development in Iceland, where they must have begun around 1270 and were carried on until at least 1430 (Lögmannsannáll). A favorite genre imported from Anglo-Norman via Germany was the rhymed chronicle, beginning with the Sw Erikskrönikan in the early fourteenth century, Karlskrönikan (to 1452), Sturekrönikan (to 1496), and continuing with the Da Rimkrøniken (to 1450). These were little more than versifications (in rhymed couplets, the so-called 'knittelvers') of corresponding prose chronicles. They were frankly political, as was the famous Engelbrektsvisan by Bishop Thomas of Strängnäs (d. 1443), which celebrated the rebel

hero Engelbrekt (d. 1436) as a martyr for Swedish liberty. Prose chronicles include the Da Gesta Danorum (Lundekrøniken) known in two fifteenth-century manuscripts with East Da forms. In Iceland the only historical narratives were bishops' sagas, telling of the only native chieftains of any consequence now left in the country (F. Jónsson 3. 65–71).

- (4) Didactic-expository writing. Leech-books continued to be translated, e.g. Harpestreng's into Sw, a Latin original into Da (AM 187, 8°), a German one into Da (Thott 249, 8°), etc. But now the available materials were expanded to cover the whole span of medieval learning and pseudo-learning, e.g. in the encyclopedic Lucidarius (Da MS 1470-80, from LG c. 1350) and Sydrak (Da MS from end of the fourteenth century, from MLG). There were even special books for women, e.g. the Da Kvinders urtegård (c. 1500), and Kvinders rosengård (tr. from German c. 1513), containing advice on childbirth and pedagogy. Travel accounts included the famous Mandeville's Voyages in Da (tr. from Latin, about 1444) as well as a guide for pilgrims (tr. from German about 1450). In Sw there were two interesting manuscripts by Bishop Peder Mansson (d. 1534), Bondakonst on the arts of agriculture and Stridskonst on the arts of war, based on Latin and Italian sources. The art of government was the subject of the Sw Konungastyrilsi (MS c. 1435), based on a Latin original and intended as a textbook for King Magnus Eriksson, last of the Folkung dynasty. Finally, there were important collections of proverbs, attributed to 'Petrus Lalæ' (Peder Låle), who may have been Danish. A Sw version is known from the first half of the fifteenth century (Cod. Ups. Palmsköld 405), a Da from c. 1450 (printed 1506); they were partly based on French-Dutch collections and were used as textbooks for the teaching of Latin (the Da and Sw as glosses). Virtually nothing in this category appeared in Nw or Ic.
- (5) Literary entertainment. The favorite genre was the chivalric romance in prose or verse, translated from Latin or MLG, ultimately Old French. The so-called Eufemiavisor were early fourteenth-century reworkings in Sw (on orders of the Nw queen Eufemia) of the romances Ivain ou le chevalier au lion (by Chrétien de Troyes), Floire et Blanceflor and Herzog Friederich von der Normandie (Cod. Holm. D 4, c. 1420–45); a Da version was made from the Sw (MSS 1450–1500). Earlier Nw works were translated, e.g. Piðreks Saga (Sw

c. 1450, MSS from c. 1500) and Karlamagnus Saga (Da Karl Magnus' kronike, MS 1480). A prose romance about the two princes Namenlos och Valentin (MS 1457) is a Sw reworking of a LG version of a French original. None of these have the enduring literary value of the medieval ballads, narrative poems in rhymed stanzas, sung to dances ultimately coming from France. These were especially rich in Denmark, but were popular in all the countries. However, they were not written down until much later and therefore retain only reminiscences of their originally medieval language. Only in Iceland did a vital literary tradition arise from this source. In the fourteenth century the singing and dancing ballad was there reshaped in the spirit of skaldic poetry, by supplementing the four-line rhymed stanzas with native alliteration, assonance, syllable counting and metaphors (heiti, kenningar). This new form, which became the favorite Ic poetic activity for centuries, by named poets, was called rima (pl. rimur). These rimes were actually metrical romances, usually in many stanzas and organized into lengthy cycles; their themes were both native and foreign, religious and secular, and they were based on sagas and poems, as well as on folktales.

11.3 Phonology: Innovations in the Dialects. Any attempt to determine from the sources just how people spoke in this period is tempting but risky. There were still no grammatical descriptions, and the scribal practice is our sole guide. Medieval scribes usually revealed their speech only by inadvertence; in A. B. Larsen's words: 'They sought to write as they had learned, not as they spoke' (1897: 244). In copying they were constrained (if not slavishly so) by their original; in composing they followed models of the scriptoria where they were trained. As Beckman (1917) pointed out, any given MS feature can be due to the dialect of the original, of the area, or of the scribe, or to no dialect at all except that of the written tradition. Any given MS must therefore be seen in relation to others of the same time, place, or scribe, as well as their earlier models. With luck it may then be possible to bring the feature into line with one surviving in that or some other area down to the present. Even at that time there was no doubt dialect mixture, as well as levels of speech for use on various occasions. Seip (1934a) attributed the survival of some forms to a 'higher speech' based on reading pronunciations heard at the court or the chanceries. The strength of the writing tradition was such that scribal lapses have become the happy hunting ground for historians of the language; in R. Iversen's words: 'It is the exceptions in the writing that correspond to the rule in speech' (1921: 291, fn. 1).

The first appearance of an authentic innovation in a dated text affords a kind of absolute dating, with the proviso that it probably started earlier and that it took at least one generation for it to be generally adopted. Relative dating is in some ways more promising, since it is based on the internal logic of the innovations themselves. On the assumption of regular sound change, one can order the innovations by the extent to which they account for apparent exceptions. This principle was illustrated by Swenning (1909-10: 138 ff.) in his study of the SSw diphthongization of OSw e. He showed there that  $\bar{e}$  was shortened before m earlier than  $\bar{e} > xi$  ( $b\bar{e}n$  bone > bxin) because hēm became hemm (not \*hæim). But the diphthongization had to be earlier than the lengthening of vet wit (from CSc wit) to vēt, since otherwise the latter would have become \*væit. So the diphthongization could be given a terminus post and ante quem, a result that has not been challenged even though Wigforss (1913-18: 651) showed that Swenning's absolute dating to c. 1450 probably should be pushed back to c. 1300.

the fragmentation of CSc was more apparent than ever. At the same time there were signs of centralization that pointed forward to larger unities. The native languages were not highly esteemed, since Lat was the language of Church and learning, MLG that of commerce and politics. But there was a steady growth of centers at which speakers of dialect met and learned new ways of talking, both foreign and native, and where it was to the newcomers' advantage to level their speech and writing according to those of their peers and superiors. The innovations were at least in part seaborne, from port to port, but also landborne along the rivers and the main routes of travel. Within the area of Da dominance there is a clear trend toward normalization according to the models of Copenhagen, which extended even farther during the period of Union.

Most of the innovations discussed below began in the OSc period (10.5) and continued into the Modern Scandinavian (MdSc) period (12.3). For each one we shall survey the evidence for its occurrences in MSc MSS and compare these with the modern dialects, including the 'standard' dialects. The dialects that were most directly exposed

to foreign and urban influence changed more rapidly, but no dialect remained static. Even Ic, the most conservative, underwent some radical changes, as did other typically retentive dialects (e.g. Fa WNw MidNw DalSw Gu NSw FiSw), each with its own mix of retention and innovation. They may have been 'out of touch', especially with the main lines of communication to the outside world, which mostly led from northern Germany, but they lived their own lives and proved to be even defiantly self-contained when they emerged into modern times.

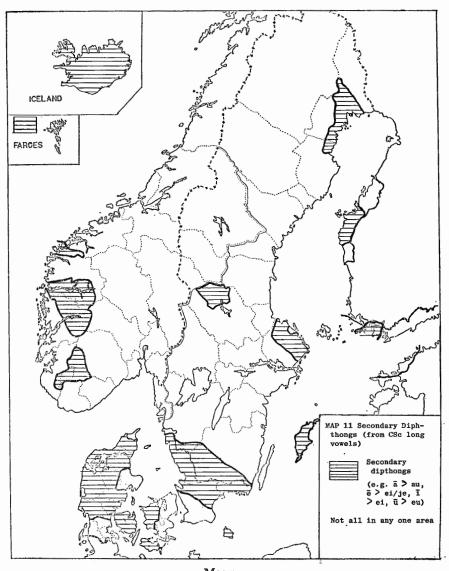
#### A. The Vowel System

rr.3.2. In CSc the difference between long and short vowels was primarily one of quantity rather than quality, i.e. in stressed vowels length was a distinctive feature. But length also involved tenseness and a quality difference which was brought out by later development. The tenseness of the long vowels tended to diphthongize or raise them, while the laxness of the short vowels tended to lower them. Their length became a redundant feature which was free to change, either by shortening or lengthening, until a new quantity system came into being in which length was not distinctive, but was regulated by the following consonants. Quality took over the function of length and kept apart a high proportion of the words that had been different in the older language.

In areas where the old diphthongs were retained, differences between their members were generally increased, e.g. ei > ai WNw MidNw Fa Gu; ei > ai WNw FiSw ei Gu ei Gu ei Gu; ei Sw ei Gu ei Gu ei Gu ei Fa WNw Gu etc. The unrounding of high front rounded vowels in Ic Fa and some Nw Sw dialects  $(y\ \bar{y}\ ei) = i\ ei$  was a merger of quality, but it still left intact the morphological alternations between back and front vowels that played such an important role in these conservative dialects.

## (1) Qualitative Changes

11.3.3. Secondary diphthongs (Map 11). Long vowels were frequently diphthongized by the development of (consonantal) glides at the beginning (rising diphthongs) or at the end (falling diphthongs). A shift of stress within the diphthong could then turn rising into falling diphthongs or vice versa (cf breaking 9.4.1 (2c)). Glides could



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be either narrowing (moving towards j or w) or opening (moving towards a or  $[\bar{\imath}]$ , i.e. lowering or centralizing). High vowels  $(\bar{\imath}\ \bar{y}\ \bar{u})$  often developed narrowing diphthongs with an opening first member which tended in the same direction as in Eng or HG (e.g.  $\bar{\imath}s$  ice >  $\bar{\imath}s > \bar{\varrho}is > ais$ ). Non-high vowels  $(\bar{e}\ \bar{o}\ \bar{o}\ \bar{x}\ \bar{d})$  could either close  $(\bar{o}>{}^{e}o>eo>ew>ow)$  or open  $(\bar{o}>uo>wo)$ . The following table lists some typical resultants:

	$\bar{u} > e^u$ eu æu uw yw øw $\bar{o} > e^o$ eo $\bar{u}e$ uo ow $\bar{a} > au$ åa
a / ai ai ui au	

Diphthongal spellings appear in OSc and MSc MSS without always indicating diphthongal pronunciation, nor does unitary writing necessarily indicate monophthongs. But the frequent spelling in the ODa Flensborg Law (c. 1300) of  $\bar{e}$  as ie is confirmed by the almost universal dialect pronunciation in Da as [ia] or, with stress shift, as je (in which form it became standard Da only in the words hjem home from ODa hēm and ihjel to death from ODa ī hēl). The Flensborg Law also has wo/uo for  $\bar{o}$  (gwoth good, stuor large), still found in SIv dialects. Iv MSS spell  $\theta y$  for  $\bar{y}$  (boy town, noy new), which is still heard in EJy and SDa. In Ic MSS after 1350 the common spellings ie (and ei) mark a similar diphthongization which developed into je ( $m\bar{e}r$  me dat.  $> mi\bar{e}r > mj\bar{e}r$ ) and was so written until the official etymologizing spelling in the nineteenth century restored it as mér. The spelling broybr on the OGu runestone of Lye (1449) for older brybr brothers is reflected in present-day Gu brøidar (H. Gustavson 1940-2: 54).

The various diphthongizations are so local that one can hardly see them as having been spread from one area to another; they are rather an internal development designed to protect long vowels from merging with short. Indrebø (NM 225) suggested a correlation with the degree of lowering by short vowels: diphthongization is greatest where short vowels are least lowered, i.e. the contrast i:i in such dialects became one of  $\dot{e}i:\bar{i}$ . When the short vowels were lengthened, diphthongization could keep the long vowels distinct. In Ic this applied to the non-high vowels, which were all diphthongized ( $\bar{a}\ \bar{o}\ \bar{e}\ \bar{x}/\bar{o} > au\ ou\ je\ ai$ ), but not to the high  $(\bar{i}/\bar{y}\ \bar{u})$ , where the short were lowered (to  $\bar{I}\ \bar{U}/\bar{Y}$ ). In Fa all the long vowels and secondarily the lengthened short were diphthongized  $(\bar{i}/\bar{y}\ \bar{u}\ \bar{e}/\bar{x}\ \bar{o}\ \bar{o}\ \bar{a} > ui\ yu\ xa\ oe\ ou\ aa$ ). In WNw the

inner fjord and mountain districts from Setesdal to Sunnmøre have extensive diphthongization, e.g. Setesdal maintains all the CSc long vowels distinct from the lengthened shorts by diphthongs ( $\bar{\imath}\,\bar{y}\,\bar{u}>ei\,uy\,eu$ ;  $\bar{e}\,\bar{o}\,\bar{o}>e^i\,e^y\,o^u$ ), none of which merge with the old diphthongs (Haugen 1942: 74). In Da dialects narrowing diphthongs are common:  $ij\,yj\,\mathrm{Fy}$ ;  $ej\,ej\,\mathrm{EJy}$ ;  $uw\,\mathrm{Sj}\,\mathrm{Fy}\,\mathrm{Bo}$ ;  $ow\,\mathrm{generally}$ ; but also the opening ones listed above (and a>uo in EFy SDa Sj). In NSk Hall and adjacent parts of SSw  $\bar{e}\,\bar{a}$  were diphthongized as  $ai\,(sai\,\mathrm{see})$  and  $au\,(kaul\,\mathrm{cabbage})$ , as shown by Swenning (1909–10) in a classic monograph (with a map). Gu also diphthongized all longs except  $\bar{a}\,(\bar{\imath}\,\bar{y}\,\bar{u}>xi\,\bar{e}\,\bar{u}\,xu;\,\bar{e}\,\bar{o}>ej/xj\,au/ow$ ) (H. Gustavson 1940–2). In N and E UppSw  $\bar{e}>ie\,(\mathrm{Kruuse}\,\,1908)$ . Finally, there was extensive diphthongization in FiSw, at least locally ( $\bar{e}\,\bar{v}\,\bar{o}\,\bar{a}>ie\,ye\,ou\,uo$ ; Kökar  $\bar{e}>xi$ ) (Hultman 1939: 82 suggested Fi influence).

In Ic and Fa the pronunciations above were part of the standard language, though they were not reflected in the spelling. In standard Sw (less in ENw) there was a marked diphthongization of the long high vowels, with an offglide in final position  $(\bar{\imath}\,\bar{y}>\bar{\imath}\bar{y}\,\bar{y};\,\bar{u}\,\bar{o}>\bar{u}w\,\bar{o}w)$ , while a slight opening offglide could sometimes be heard in the mid vowels  $(\bar{e}\,\bar{e}\,\bar{a})$ .

11.3.4. Raising. In a central Sc area (CSw ENw) a systematic vowel shift took place, by which  $\bar{a} \ \bar{o} \ \bar{u}$  were displaced by one step (cf Eng vowel shift OE  $\bar{a} > \text{ME } \bar{a} > \text{Eng } \bar{o}$ ). The earliest was  $\bar{a} > \bar{a}$ , merging with  $\bar{\varrho}$  (10.5.7). This may have triggered the further change of  $\bar{\varrho}$  and  $\bar{u}$ (as suggested by A. B. Larsen 1886: 82-5 and Storm 1892: 255), in what has since been called a 'push-chain' effect (Martinet 1952). The raising of  $\bar{o}$  to high-back position (Sw dialect alphabet [o]), with a special narrow rounding and consonantal offglide, has been dated to 1400; the corresponding fronting of  $\bar{u}$  with similar rounding and offglide (Sw[u]) must have come soon after (Wessén Sspr 1. 76). Other Sw dialects and ENw TNw also participated, reaching a somewhat less fronted position (Sw[u]; Nw[u]). Front round y was also generally less rounded, making it intermediate between Ger  $\ddot{u}$  and i. Those dialects (e.g. Ic MidNw Da FiSw) that did not take part in this change are said to have 'continental vowels', i.e. closer to those of Ger and It. Old  $\bar{a}$  is preserved hardly anywhere, possibly in the  $\bar{a}$ of Gu and Fa (Norðurovjar).

11.3.5. Lowering. As short vowels occurred only before consonants in stressed syllables, their development was greatly dependent on the

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following consonants. So in Da i (like y) was preserved before or after palatals (which had a common 'fronting' feature), but was lowered to e elsewhere: ODa illæ ill, mild mild, litlæ little, kistæ chest, giwæ give, but lewer lives, nebær down, meket much. In Sw the lowering of iv to e ø is a S and W feature, giving e.g. Gö dialects with fesk fish, möcke much contrasting with CSw forms such as fisk, mycke (Wessén 1935: 24). Detailed study of Sw words containing i before di/ti (Aneman 1970) shows a SSw lowering to e which began in the fifteenth century; but each word mapped has a different extension, and in standard Sw it is midja waist but smedja smithy (Da smedje, Nw smie). Lowering of the high vowels i y u a full step to e ø o was often reflected in the spelling, e.g. frip peace > fred Da Nw Sw; synir sons > sønner Da DN/søner NN/söner Sw; hlut lot > lod Da/lodd DN/lott Sw. In Da spelling, however, the fact of lowering was not reflected in such words as spille play, skylle rinse, dukke dip, nor for the mid vowels in such words as kende know, bon prayer, kost provisions, where the actual sounds might rather have been rendered æ ö å. Lowering of the mid vowels has led to widespread confusion in Sc spelling between e/x and o/a, while the symbol o (Sw  $\ddot{o}$ ) has generally had to do duty for several nuances. While the changes were mostly within one qualitative group, some changes also involved a sporadic labialization of i to y before r and l clusters, e.g.  $vir\delta a$  honor  $> ONw \ vyr\delta a/NN \ vyrda/Sw \ v\"orda; \ silfr \ silver <math>> ODa$ sylver/Da DN sølv (but Sw silver).

# (2) Quantitative Changes

**11.3.6.** A number of words had shortened or lengthened their quantities in the late OSc period (10.5.6) in time to participate in the qualitative changes of their new class. So at to  $> \bar{a}t > \text{Nw Sw } at$ , but Da ad; eta eat  $> \bar{e}ta > \text{Ic jeta}$  (now written éta); garpr farm  $> g\bar{a}rpr > \text{Da Sw } gard$ , but Nw gard (lengthened after a > a to  $g\bar{a}r/g\bar{a}l$ ); halda hold  $> h\bar{a}lda > \text{Sw hålla/Da holde}$  [hålə], but NN Ic Fa halda. The initial and pre-cluster lengthenings were distinct from the lengthenings we are about to describe, as shown by the fact that they were often differently ordered, preceding rather than following the qualitative changes.

11.3.7. The great quantity shift, which encompassed most Sc dialects between 1250 and 1550, was part of a trend that had affected other European languages as well. Even Ic participated in this one,

though not until the sixteenth century. Primarily the shift involved a lengthening of short stressed syllables and a shortening of overlong stressed syllables so that all stressed syllables were long. This was accomplished either by lengthening of short vowels before single consonants or by geminating consonants after short vowels, e.g. vit wit > vīt/vēt or vitt/vett; vika week > vīka/vēka or vikka/vekka. In these words the short syllable VC (i.e. -it-/-ik-) > either  $\bar{V}C$  or VCC, both long syllables by virtue of having either a long vowel or a geminate consonant. The change was from an ambiguous syllable division in vika (?vi.ka or vik.a) either to a division between V and C (vi.ka) in open syllable, or to splitting the C between the syllables and closing the first (vik.ka). In the new structure the vowel quantity was inversely determined by the following consonant: long before single C, short before geminate. The rare overlong syllable (VCC as in nott night) was already eliminated in late OSc (10.5.6) except for some few dialects.

Evidence of the shift appeared in Da MSS as early as 1300 in such sporadic writings as maat food (Harpestreng 118. 12), ool ale (Flensborg Law 88); see Br-N GG 2. 381. EDa dialects (Sk Bo) developed like other Sc dialects, but the remaining CDa and WDa dialects failed to lengthen many vowels in monosyllables, i.e. in closed syllables. In polysyllables like glade glad pl., steder places, the V was lengthened, but in the corresponding singulars they often were not, e.g. glad, sted. The usual explanation of this, still argued by A. Hansen (1962), has been that Da later shortened the vowels again in monosyllables, but Boberg (1896) proposed a different theory which was accepted by Hesselman (1901) and Brøndum-Nielsen (GG 1. 379) and Skautrup (1. 236): Da lengthened the V only in open syllables, and lengthened it in closed syllables only by analogy. The convincing evidence was the absence of glottal catch in short monosyllables, while vowels known to have been shortened retained it, e.g. skov [skow?] woods, tom [tom?] empty from CSc skogR, tomR. Elsewhere in Sc both closed and open syllables were regularly lengthened, except for a few relic dialects where short syllables were maintained (NGbr-Nw UppSw DalSw NSw FiSw: Sjödahl 1936-7; Wessman 1940-2; V. Jansson 1942: 62); see Map 13. The change spread throughout Norden between 1350 and 1500, reaching Gu and Ic last (Söderberg 1879: 32; Pórólfsson 1929).

In the areas most exposed to Da and continental influence the

tendency was to lengthen the vowels: SSw (Sk Gö) WNw Fa Ic (Wigforss 1918a). But in the inner areas (ENw TNw CSw) there was also much gemination of consonants, especially of voiceless stops. The complex results are apparent in the modern dialects where we may compare such forms as  $v\bar{e}ka$  week,  $dr\bar{o}pe$  drop,  $sk\bar{e}p$  ship in GöSw and WNw with vecka, droppe, skepp in standard Sw. This difference affected both Sw and Nw standard languages.

- 11.3.8. Da departed still farther from the other Sc languages by shortening the geminate consonants from 1350 on, so that CSc  $r\bar{e}tt$  right > rett > ret,  $r\bar{e}tta$  correct > rettw > ret(t)e [rædə]. By this change vowel length again became distinctive, e.g.  $k\bar{y}se$  bonnet:kysse kiss, but rarely minimal because of consonantal compensation (Diderichsen 1957: 72).
- 11.3.9. Consonant clusters which were not geminates varied in their relations to preceding vowel length. Although some led to early lengthening, as we have seen, the general tendency was for vowels to be short before clusters. Those clusters which contained a morpheme boundary, however, were often treated differently, since the analogy with a long base form could maintain length even before clusters. This was not the case in Ic or Fa, where even diphthongs were shortened before such clusters, e.g. ljós light [ljōus] ljóst light adj. n. [ljoust]; compare Sw ljust [jūst] DN lyst [lȳst]. In unit morphemes Sw and Nw would here have short vowels, e.g. just [just] just, Nw lyst [lyst] desire. Because of such forms we have here chosen to interpret long consonants as geminate, since the addition of a morphemic -t is parallel to the difference between, e.g., Nw fet fat adj. and fett fat n. (for discussion see H. Benediktsson 1967–8).

# (3) The Unstressed Vowels

trans. The lengthening of short stressed syllables continued the trend toward concentrating information in the stressed syllables (9.4.1, 10.5.5) and often took place at the expense of the unstressed syllables, which were further weakened. There was no longer room in them for vowel harmony (10.5.9a) which is rarely found after 1400 (Brøndum-Nielsen 1927a). In a conservative central and northern area (as mentioned earlier) vowel balance was maintained for short syllable words and even developed by metaphony. For the long syllable words, however, even these dialects did not resist the general trend towards vowel merger and apocope.

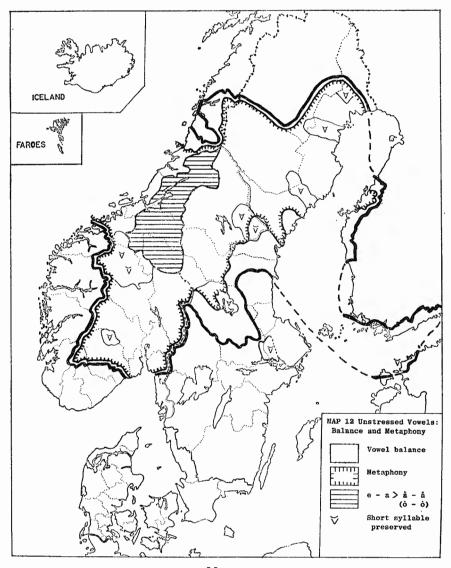
- (1) Vowel balance (VB) was defined above (10.5.9(2)) and its area indicated (Map 12). It is probable that in CSc -a in fara go or vita know had relatively more stress than in  $b\bar{a}ra$  billow or vista provide. With a short stressed syllable the stress was more evenly spread and the syllables more spaced. We recall that in OIc metrics (as in Lat) two short syllables could replace one long (Hesselman 1948-52: 246). In the dialects of the 'outer area' (Da SSw WNw Fa Ic) this difference left no trace in the further development of vowel quality, but in the 'inner area' (ENw TNw NSw ESw CSw) unstressed vowel qualities were much better preserved after short than long syllables. The effect was to produce two allomorphs for many inflectional suffixes, e.g. inf. -a after short, -e after long (ENw væra be, læsa read vs. kaste throw, sjunge sing). Note that the difference is maintained even after the short vowels have been lengthened by the great quantity shift (A. B. Larsen 1913; Seip 1938). Standard Sw shows no VB, but there is evidence of its existence in CSw dialects at an earlier period (Neuman 1918). Attempts have been made without much success to introduce the 'divided infinitive' of ENw dialects into Nw (especially NN) writing.
- (2) Metaphony (Nw tiljævning Aasen 1864, now NN jamning; Sw tilljämning Lundell 1879) is a qualitative assimilation between the stressed and unstressed vowels in VB (Map 12). In general it is a regressive assimilation, in which the unstressed vowel partially or wholly assimilates to itself the preceding stressed vowel. In this respect it is like umlaut, but it does not produce new, intermediate vowel qualities as umlaut did. Dialects show different degrees of assimilation, along a scale that reflects the historical stages (in a very rough way):

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CSc lifa > leva > levå > lavå > låvå > låvvå live inf.

vera > verå > varå > vårå > vårrå be inf.

viku > vyku > vuku > vukku week (base form from obl. cases)
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The most deviant of these forms occur in the heartland of metaphony, TNw (incl JämtSw), where words like *lifa* and *lofa* promise have merged in forms like *låvvå*. Metaphony is also found in ENw TinnNw DalSw VbSw UppSw (Häverö); for details see Geijer 1921 (on BoSw Janzén 1933). Examples have been claimed from Nw MSS in the fifteenth century (Grøtvedt 1931). The main historical problem

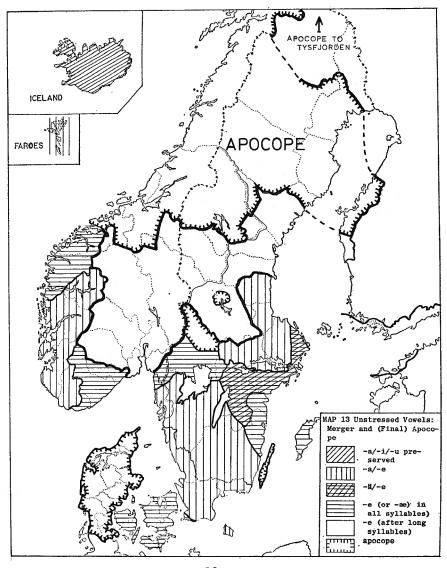


Map 12

is the transition of the unstressed syllables from -a to -a. Kock suggested lengthening of the -a and consequent participation in the qualitative change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{a}$ , followed by shortening. Hesselman proposed instead a qualitative differentiation, by which -a was backed and rounded after short syllables, fronted and raised after long (1948–53: 251, 256 ff.). This was also the view of Bergfors (1961: 22–3; see Holm 1962) in a special study of metaphony in DalSw, where one finds contrasts like  $bj\ddot{a}r\dot{a}$  bear v. (from bera) vs. kast throw v. (from kasta > kaste). The latter form shows apocope as well, as in TNw  $b\dot{a}kk\dot{a}$  bake (from baka) vs. kast throw (from kasta).

- (3) Vowel merger (Map 13) was characteristic of SjDa and so of standard Da, where -a/-i/-u > -x or -e in the MSS, pronounced [-ə] (above 10.5.9 (3)). Complete merger of vowels unprotected by consonants also occurred in two WNw areas, the SW facing Denmark and the NW north of Bergen. Between them is an area that preserves -a, while beyond them are areas with VB. They are therefore transitional areas between dialects with -a and dialects with alternating -a/-e or  $-a/-\emptyset$ . Similarly in Sw (SVärm Ög) there is a transitional area with -e between the -a of SSw and the VB to the north. Partial merger, usually one in which -u is merged with -e while -a remains, is found in inner WNw dialects (So Hard). In UppSw this is also common, reflected in the popular pronunciation of written Sw -or as -er (e.g. flicker for flickor girls). There is no merger in Ic, but Fa dialects show complex patterns of i/u merger (Hagström 1967).
- (4) Apocope. A first stage in the loss of final vowels is their facultative disappearance within the sentence, as in Gu Iest u upp da? Are you up then? vs. Iest u uppe? Are you up? (Gustavson 1948: 78), or NNw (Vefsn) E taft en söu I lost a sheep vs. Käm så tafte? Who lost? (Riksheim 1921). Other dialects from which this phenomenon has been reported are FynDa SjDa (Bennike-Kristensen 128), DalSw (Levander 1920), SFärnebo in VärmSw (Kallstenius 1902), UppSw to HälsSw (Hesselman 1948-52) (Map 13).

A second stage is one in which the loss is no longer facultative but in which the tonal glide (or some other feature) of the second syllable is added to the stressed syllable. This commonly produces a tone known as circumflex: ganga go > gâng (something like ga-ang). Circumflex (in various phonetic forms) has been reported from SJyDa WJyDa ÖlandSw NVärmSw TNw JämtSw NSw (e.g. Geijer



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1921, Reitan 1922, Selmer 1930, M. Bjerrum 1948). In these dialects circumflex distinguishes different words, which elsewhere differ by being dissyllabic, e.g. TNw song sings vs. sông sing inf. (CSc syngR vs. syngwa), ÖlandSw tak roof vs. tâk the roof (CSc pak vs. pakit). In Jy the circumflex remains only as a lengthening of the final consonant. As shown by Ringgaard (1959), the circumflex requires a long vowel or a final voiced consonant; in other positions the second vowel disappears without trace, e.g. WJyDa fesk fish v., mest lose v. (ODa fiskæ, mistæ).

The last stage of apocope is reached when all words show this complete loss of the final syllable. This is the case in EJy (hōn chicken, cf WJy hôn, from ODa hōnæ) and in some TNw NNw (coastal) dialects.

11.3.11. A glottalization of voiceless geminate stops in WJy has sometimes been interpreted as a parallel of the circumflex (A. Hansen 1943, Skautrup 1. 261, Hellevik 1956), since it occurs in formerly dissyllabic words, e.g. dre?k drink from ODa drikkæ. But Ringgaard (1960) has convincingly shown that it is rather a phonetic development of the old geminate (like preaspiration in Ic), since it is not limited to apocopated words, but also occurs e.g. in dre?ge drinks (from ODa drikkær).

(from ODa drikkær).

11.3.12. In summary: the phonetic changes of weak syllables in MSc and MdSc dialects developed according to two major patterns, that of Area A (outer Sc) where all were treated alike, and that of Area B (inner Sc) where vowels after short syllables were preserved by VB and metaphony. In Area A and after long syllables in Area B the following stages can be detected: (1) no change; (2) merger of i|u as e, preservation of a; (3) merger of a|i|u as e (usually centralized to [3]); (4) facultative apocope of e in sentence interior; (5) regular apocope, with compensatory circumflex or lengthening; (6) complete apocope.

On the assumption that phonetic change begins in its center of greatest intensity, it has been generally claimed that Jutland was the point of origin; if so, it would be easy to connect it with corresponding developments in MLG (as Brøndum-Nielsen did 1927a: 75), where -e is the rule and some dialects (Holstein etc.) have apocope. This does not account for the northern apocope after long syllables, which Geijer (1921: 72) argued had arisen in the CSw area and spread to the N and W. In an oft-quoted passage he suggested that an

innovation might very well have become more intense, i.e. been generalized in a secondary area while it died out at its point of origin. The theory behind this argument is still moot (cf King 1969: 87–92).

#### B. The Consonant System

11.3.13. Some of the major innovations involve (1) interdental spirants, (2) consonant clusters, (3) palatal affricates and clusters, (4) palatalized apico-dentals, (5) retroflex apicals, and (6) unstressed final consonants.

#### (1) The Interdental Spirants

11.3.14. b > t in Da by 1300 (10.5.10), in Sw by 1400, in Nw by 1450, as appears from the confusion between t and th in words like ping (thing, ting) and taka (taka, thaka). In unstressed position between voiced sounds b was voiced to  $\delta$ , which in turn became d. Words that were frequently unstressed could therefore have two forms, one with t- and one with d-. In most dialects the forms with d won out:  $b\bar{u}$  you > du, bat that > det, bessi this > disse pl., bar there > der/dar, bar then > da/da. Voiceless forms were evidently present in OSw, where the spellings tu and tin (from bin) are common (Wessén Sspr. 1. 82). But only a few forms have survived, e.g. Sw ty therefore from  $b\bar{y}$ , CSc  $bw\bar{i}$ ; Nw dialect tess mers the more (DN dess mer). Only in Fa is t- common, e.g. tu you,  $ta\delta$  [tæa] that, ta then (but t- in hesin this, har there, perhaps by analogy with t- in hann he, hon she Naert 1946); but observe t0 hosdagur Thursday and the PN Hósvík (from Pórsvík).

**11.3.15.**  $\delta > d$  where it did not disappear (except in Ic, where it is everywhere preserved). Early OIc MSS did not distinguish it from p, treating it as an allophone in voiced environment. It showed its affinity with d by becoming d after l and n (aldr age, hond hand) in CSc; in postvocalic environment there was no contrast between the two. It was written d in ONw after 1300 and in OIc after 1350; in OSw and ODa it was written either d or dh. In all Sc except Ic it normally disappeared after vowels, e.g. CSc vepr weather  $> ve\delta r > Nw vær/Sw dial vär$ . It survived as  $\delta$  or d in a few dialects (SEJyDa; SkDa Wigforss 1918b; SmNfjNw; DalSw; UppSw; FiSw), as j in JyDa (cf Da vejr/Sw väder weather). In Da Sw NN DN it was later restored in the spelling of a number of words, and from this developed

a spelling pronunciation with d (which in Da was pronounced  $\tilde{\sigma}$ ). In the process of restoration a few words were overlooked, e.g. ske spoon (DN skje vs. Sw sked NN skeid, now skei, from CSc  $skei\tilde{\sigma}$ );  $fr\tilde{\sigma}$  frog (Sw  $fr\tilde{\sigma}$ , from OESc  $fr\tilde{\sigma}dh$ ). In its function as a preterite suffix  $-\tilde{\sigma}$ - was often preserved, or even sharpened to -t-, e.g. CSc  $svara\tilde{\sigma}i > Da$  svarede/Sw svarade/DN svare, but NN svara (older svarade). For  $\tilde{\sigma}$  after r see (5) below, and in weak position see (6).

# (2) Consonant Clusters

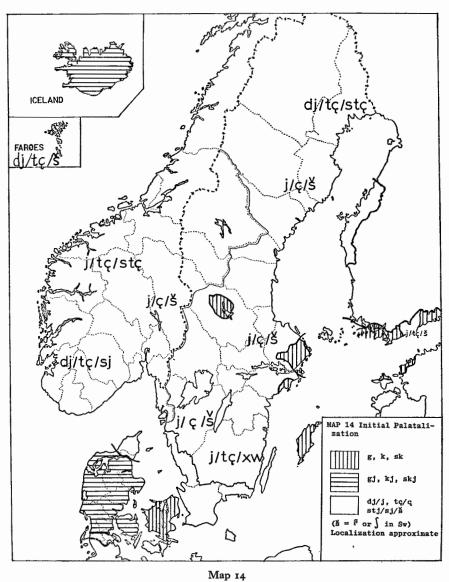
11.3.16. Initial clusters hj and hw survived in Ic and NJyDa (Bennike and Kristensen 92); in Ic hw was partially replaced by h and hw (B. Guðfinnsson 1950). Elsewhere hj lost its h in late OSc; it was sporadically confused with sj in Nw dialects (Indrebø NM 232). In a continuous ESc and SENw area (in contact with the same innovation in OS, see Holthausen 1921), hw > v (while remaining as w in SJyDa SSw). In most of the WSc and NSw FiSw area the loss of h was resisted by a sharpening to h (perhaps via the fricative h), e.g. CSc hwitR white h Ic h Ic h Ic h Ic h In a SENw transition area between h In 
xx.3.17. Medial and final clusters were greatly simplified by loss or assimilation. Where compounding or suffixation brought more than two consonants together, one of them (usually the middle one) was liable to loss by the 'three-consonant rule', e.g. Nw vatns water gen. > vats > vass; jamnt even n. > jamt. Clusters of voiced plus voiceless consonants were usually devoiced, e.g. Sw högt high n. [hökt], Nw til lags satisfied [til laks]. Clusters of differently articulated consonants were often assimilated to the second, e.g. ONw efter after > Nw etter fourteenth century; stafkarl beggar > Sw stackare/Nw stakkar/Da stakkel miserable person; CSc wapmāl homespun > Nw Sw dialect vammal. Clusters of sonorant plus voiced stop replaced the stop with a second sonorant in JyDa by 1300, a change that spread through Da so that after 1450 these clusters had all become geminates (and simplified in pronunciation): mb ng nd ld > mm nn nn ll (> mn nl), e.g. lamb lamb > lamm > lam; ungR young > ung [ung] > ung [ung]; land land > [lann]; halda hold > holde [hållə] > [hålə]. The assimilation spread into ENw TNw SSw

CSw and for mb and ng in some positions even farther. The Da assimilations of tl tn > ll nn (10.5.10) spread throughout the Da kingdom and into SENw. In GöSw tl was preserved, while elsewhere it was generally merged with sl (via tsl), with various results: WNw tl/ENw CSw sl/TNw NSw hl, e.g. CSc hasl > WNw hatl/ENw CSw hasl/TNw NSw hahl. On palatal clusters see (3), r-clusters (5).

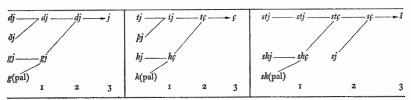
## (3) Palatal Affricates and Clusters

11.3.18. The reflexes of Gmc iu (>  $j\bar{u}/j\bar{o}$ ) and broken e (>  $ja/j\bar{o}$ ) produced many palatal clusters in CSc: with labials bj pj spj fj mj; with apicals dj tj stj bj nj lj rj sj; with velars gj kj skj (hj). More instances of the velars came into being by 1300 with the palatalization of velar stops before front vowels (10.5.10). In Da the j often changed a following  $\bar{u}$  to  $\bar{y}$  and was lost: Sw mjuk/Da myg soft; Sw ljus/NN ljos/Da lys light; Sw njuta/NN njota/Da nyde enjoy; OSc rjūka > Da ryge/Sw ryka/DN ryke/NN rjuka smoke. Labials or nasals before j were generally preserved: Nw Sw Da björn bear, Nw Sw Da mjöd mead, Nw fjell/Sw fjäll/Da fjeld mountain. The apicals l and d were commonly lost before j (fifteenth-century Nw Sw): Sw ljus [jus] light, djävel [jævəl] devil (in oaths), preserved in Ic Fa Gu DalSw EstSw NSw. When d was not lost, it was like t st s in forming palatal affricates, which were sometimes even assibilated:  $dj > d\tilde{z}$ ; (bj >) $tj > tc > t\check{s}$ ; stj > stc (> sc); sj > sc (Nilsson 1965; Voronkova 1969).

Initial palatalization. As seen above (10.5.10), the velars formed palatal clusters  $gj\ kj\ skj$ , some of them the result of palatalization before front vowels (see Map 14). Only in a few dialects did these remain at what has been called the first stage of palatalization: Ic JyDa FyDa (P. Thorson 1949, 1954). A few Sw dialects (Gu UppDal FiSw EstSw) may have kept an older stage without palatalization, but it has been shown for SjDa (Lisse 1964–5: 188–207) that the palatal clusters reverted to  $g\ k\ sk$  by depalatalization (Br-N GG 2. 196 suggests Ger influence). In many dialects they developed into a second stage of palatalization, in which they merged with the affricates listed above as coming from  $dj\ tj\ stj\ sj$ . The palatal glide drew the velars forward into the palatal position so that  $gj>dj,\ kj>tj,\ skj>stj$  (and eventually >sj). Examples may be found sporadically in WNw MidNw some SENw Fa UppSw DalSw NSw VendJyDa SJyDa BoDa. Some dialects reached this stage by 1400; in Fa it could

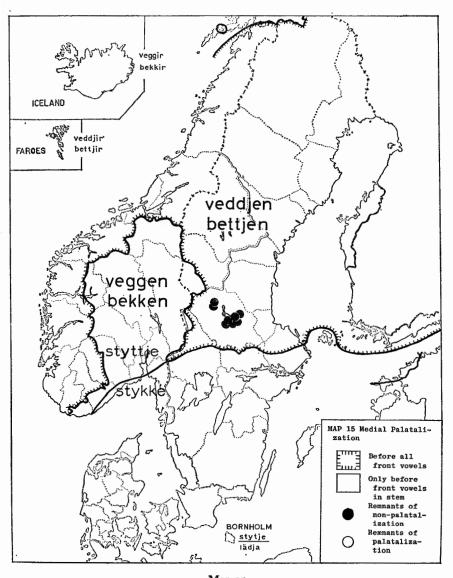


have been later, since it followed the shifts of ei to ai and au to xi (geit goat > [gait], elsewhere [j-]; geukR cuckoo > [džæikur], elsewhere [g-]). Finally, most dialects reached a third stage, in which the affricates lost their stop feature and became spirants: gj/dj > j, kj/tj > [c], skj/stj/sj > [s] (ENw TNw SDa SSw CSw).



This schema shows many local deviations, e.g. j is more widespread for dj/gj than the other spirants. The depalatalization of Da dialects has led to hyperforms by which older tj was turned into k along with kj, e.g. tjene serve > kæne (Lolland). Spelling pronunciations have arisen, as when DN tjene serve from Da is pronounced tj-, while tjære tar is pronounced [c]-. The skj/stj cluster was rarely preserved (SmNw) and usually merged with sj, e.g.  $skj\varrho dR$  shield > sjål SDa [šøldur] Fa. Dialects in which sj did not coalesce into a spirant, but retained some cluster quality are Da WNw MidNw NNw Gu(Fårö); thus Fa, which has retained affricates for gj and kj, appears to have a simple spirant for skj (Jacobsen and Matras 1961). In SSw sj was strongly labialized, almost like Eng [hw], in CSw less so.

Medial palatalization. Between vowels palatalization was less widespread than initially; one reason may be the force of analogy with alternate unpalatalized morphemes, e.g. veddjen the wall, veddjer walls could be restored as veggen, vegger by analogy with the sg. indef. vegg. There is no medial palatalization in Da or in Sw south of a line through Värmland and Uppland (Map 15). North of the line words like stykke piece > [styttje/styççe] regularly, i.e. words in which the base form contains a palatalized velar. But in words like vegg wall or bok book, the forms with suffixed articles often lack palatalization: bokin the book > bokje/bokja/boka etc. After vowels the voiced spirant [g] was subject to palatalization at an early period, especially before j: boygja bend > boyja > boya, segja say > sæja > sæia in Nw and Sw in the thirteenth century. Da developed a set of secondary diphthongs by turning g into w after non-high back vowels (gagn use > [gaw?n]), into j after non-high front vowels (regn rain > [ræj?n]). In



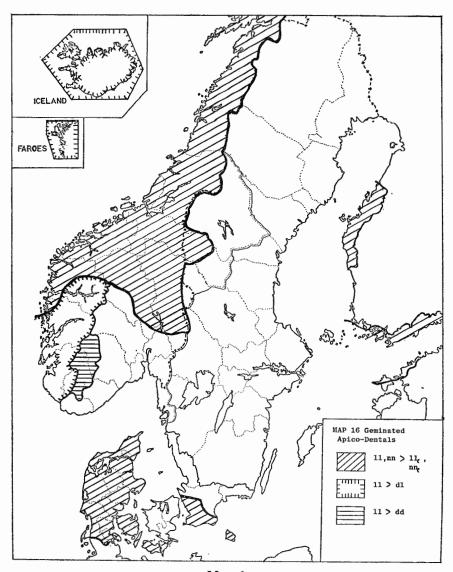
Map 15

Sw g (written gh) > j in medieval GöSw between  $\ddot{a}/\ddot{o}$  and  $\ddot{o}$  (> d), e.g.  $h\ddot{a}ghdha$  stop > hejda,  $sl\ddot{o}ghdh$  f. skill  $> sl\ddot{o}jd$ . Ic remained at the first stage of palatalization medially also, except that g > j before -i (hagi garden > [haji > haiji]) and -j- (as in Nw Sw above); evidence of the change appeared by 1417 (eie for eigi not, J. Jóhannsson 1924).

### (4) Palatalized Apico-dentals

**11.3.19.** In Da MSS around 1300 long l and n were occasionally crossed (l  $\mathcal{H}$ ), or in runic writing dotted (l l). These symbols have plausibly been interpreted as marking a palatalized pronunciation, i.e. a change from an apico-dental to a mediopalatal, in which the front of the tongue is raised into the j-position:  $[l_l n_l]$  (Brøndum-Nielsen 1927b; GG 2. 206-8). Palatalization replaced length as a distinctive feature at a time when the geminates were being shortened. Palatalization disappeared in standard Da, but remained in virtually all Da dialects, e.g. WJy  $van_l$  water (from  $van_l$ , CSc  $vat_l$ ),  $tyn_l$  thin (from  $pun_l$ ). In Fyn and SDa the palatal nasal disappeared after nasalizing the vowel and left a j behind:  $v\tilde{a}j/v\tilde{a}j$  water (as also  $ng:dr\tilde{e}j$  boy from dreng). In EDa (NSk Hall) and SSw (SSmål) the palatal became a velar and merged with ng [n], especially after high vowels, e.g. inn in ing/eng. Palatalized il became variously [il jl], e.g. Jy  $al_l$  /Fy ajl all (Bennike-Kristensen 119-24; Benson 1965-9: 1.13.27).

A similar but more extensive palatalization occurred in northern Sc: all Nw north of a line Bergen-Gbr-Kongsvinger, adjacent Sw (Idre, Häri, Jämt), FiSw EstSw (H. Christiansen 1946-8: 155); (Map 16). Here *ll nn* (as well as *ld nd*) were palatalized and were often joined by the stops tt dd, most intensely in TNw, where they occurred even in unstressed syllables (gutan the boys from gutarnir > gutanne > gutann). In some more southerly dialects (Hedm Gbr) the palatal feature separated itself out as a semivowel (many man > mainy > majn). The geographical distribution of Nw palatalization suggests a retreating feature; in general it plays only an allophonic role in the structure of the dialects. There is some evidence that at one time it extended down into the Oslo region. On this and other evidence V. Jansson (1944) proposed a connection between the two palatalizing areas: the innovation arose in Da before 1300, first affecting ll and nn (less often ld and nd) and spread into SSw and ENw (as well as ESw) from there. E. Rooth (1933) suggested a MLG influence. The



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innovation did not spread into WNw Fa Ic, where the general trend was rather to sharpen the geminates nn and ll into dn and dl.

# (5) Retroflex Apicals

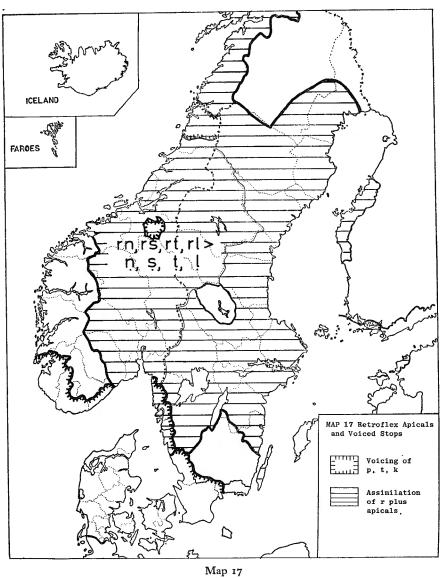
11.3.20. In 1883 Axel Kock advanced the hypothesis that CSc l had two allophones, (a) a dental which was used initially, in contact with dentals, and in unstressed position, and (b) a 'high supradental approaching a cacuminal' which was used elsewhere. His evidence included the sound change  $i\bar{u} > \bar{y}$  in OSw (10.5.12), which was induced by r ( $ri\bar{u}ka > r\bar{y}ka$  smoke) and by l, but only after a labial or velar ( $fl\bar{y}ga$  fly,  $kl\bar{y}va$  climb vs.  $lj\bar{u}ga$  lie). He concluded that the l in these positions had an r-like quality, and that this accounted for the presence in MdSc dialects of the so-called 'thick l', a sound which is not an l but a kind of r. Kock generally called the OSc allophone 'supradental', but following Lundell's practice (1879) of calling the 'thick l' and its derivatives 'cacuminal', it also became common in handbooks to refer to the OSc sound as 'cacuminal', e.g. Noreen AIG (par. 40), where it is defined as 'ein . . . zwischen r und l schwebender laut ('dickes l')'. After learning from Åström (1888) that certain NSw dialects had a supradental n which was not motivated by the presence of preceding r, Kock concluded that CSc also had a supradental n (1893) and found evidence of it in the Gu runic inscription of Akirkeby (Bornholm), where dotted l and n runes were interpreted as 'non-supradental' (cf (4) above). Zetterholm (1939) restudied the NSw dialects (Ang Vb) and concluded that their supradental n was late and that Kock's evidence for CSc n was inadequate.

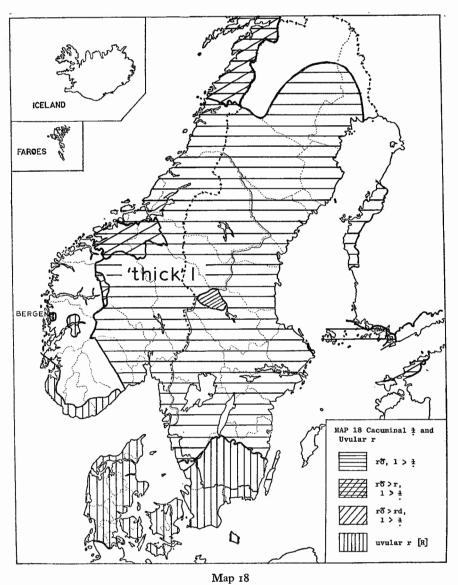
But the origin and nature of 'thick l' has continued to engage attention. The use of 'cacuminal' led to confusion of the CSc allophone with the modern sound, which is scarcely identical though probably descended from it. 'Thick l' is a regular phoneme in all dialects (except SthSw) in an inner Sc area comprising all Nw except WNw and some NNw, and all Sw except SSw and Gu (Map 18). In this area CSc l is represented by l (as we shall write 'thick l' here, following Storm 1884; for Lundell's cf p. 478, line 14) in all native (and some borrowed) words in 'non-dental' position, e.g. bla leaf, plog plow, dal valley, sola the sun, folk people, halm straw. This uniquely Sc sound may best be described as a 'flapped r', which begins with the tip of the tongue curled back behind the alveolar ridge and ends with a quick flap past the ridge to the floor of the mouth behind the lower teeth

(Storm 1908: 105). The acoustic effect is similar to that of untrilled Eng r, even more that of Japanese r/l, but the flap distinguishes it from both.

We cannot understand its origin without considering it in connection with the retroflex clusters (t d n l s, as we shall write them with Storm and the Indic grammarians). These occur in almost exactly the same area as l (Map 17). They are the phonetically unitary result of an assimilation of tongue-trilled r with following apicals (Steblin-Kamenskij 1963). Some dialects have two series, an apico-alveolar (supradental) after r and an apico-palatal ('cacuminal') after l. These assimilations are usually automatic, occurring as they do in sandhi, at morpheme junctures, and within words (unless the clusters have been assimilated in other ways, see below). They continue to function as clusters, e.g. ENw far sin [fasin] his father, ENw Sw stort [stot] from stor large+-t n., but also in barn [ban] child. They are common in standard spoken Nw and Sw, though not in standards from areas where they are absent in the dialects; they are absent from Da WNw Gu Ic Fa (though some retroflection was heard in Fa by Hagström 1967, 1970).

Although d was listed above as a cluster of rd, most dialects in fact lost  $-\delta$  after r, and where rd now exists (as in standard Sw) it is usually a restoration after the spelling. In the dialects  $r\delta > l$  in most of the dialects where I now exists; the exceptions are some parts of TNw NNw DalSw EstSw (see Map 18), where  $r\delta > r$  as elsewhere. The flapped l is therefore a merger of the supradental allophone of l with the retroflex cluster  $r\tilde{\sigma}$ : in these dialects bol may represent either CSc borð table or  $b\bar{o}l$  lair. Confusions of l and  $r\bar{o}$  appeared sporadically in the fourteenth century, e.g. Sw piufvalabot for piufvarðabot in Västmannalagen c. 1350 (Sjöstedt 1936: 162); Nw Giulsson for Giurdsson in a charter of 1382 (Storm 1908: 106, fn. 2); Sw bordh for bol in a charter from Vg of 1414. The suggestion that *l* owes its special sound to this merger was made by Storm (1908: 106; see also A. B. Larsen 1886: 64 and 1894: 108-9; Sommerfelt 1930: 103-4). Their common phonetic character and geographical extension point to a common origin. The flap represents the lost  $\delta$ , both formed at the lower teeth. Once formed, *l* attracted *l*, the supradental allophone, which probably had a 'dark' (i.e. velar) quality, like Eng l in full or the t of EJyDa (Bennike-Kristensen 124). A supradental velarized I was much more likely to be eliminated without a trace in the





marginal areas, perhaps by foreign influence, than the flapped *l* which enjoys a special status today as a regional and social shibboleth.

Not all clusters of r with apicals resulted in retroflection. Even in retroflecting areas, the r could be assimilated as part of a geminate: rn > nn, rl > ll, e.g. ENw bonn from born children, kall old man from karl. One consonant was sometimes lost, e.g. barn child > FyDa JyDa Nw ban, NWJyDa bar; karl man > Sw Nw kar (as proper name Nw Kal). In the WNw Ic Fa area the clusters were sharpened to dn/dl, e.g. badn, kadl Fa kadlur (Map 16).

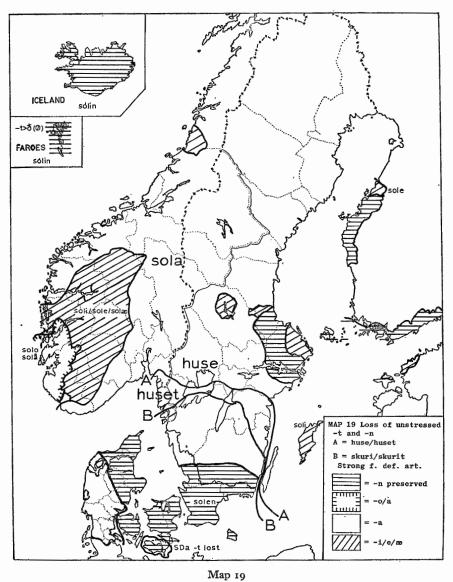
## (6) Unstressed Final Consonants

**11.3.21.** Final consonants were exposed to loss, especially when unstressed. The geminates -nn - ll - rr of OSc resulting from assimilation of -n - l - r with -R were generally shortened and preserved as -n - l - r. In some dialects these were then merged with the old single finals, while in others the latter were lost, thereby maintaining the distinction. Final OSc -l - r - s were rarely lost; we shall take up in turn -m, -n, -k/-g,  $-t/-\delta$  and -R (>-r).

-m was lost after 1400 in a NW area (WNw some TNw NNw NSw), where, e.g., WSc hestunum the horses dat. pl. > hesto, honum him dat. sg. > hono, gegnum through > gjøno, heim they dat. > dei, sum who > so (all WNw forms cited). On the loss of -m in the 1. p. pl. of verbs see 11.4.11d).

-n was lost in Nw and in most Sw dialects (including EstSw) N of a line that excludes Småland and the old Da provinces (see Map 19). There was probably an intermediate stage of nasalization, still found in a few dialects (SelbuNw DalSw). Da Fa Ic FiSw (and some UppSw) preserved -n, usually merging it with -nn, so that m. -inn became identical with f. -in, the def. art. Loss of -n left many inflections with a vocalic ending, especially the f. sg. and n. pl. of articles and pronouns (11.4.6), but also adverbs in -an, e.g. austa from the east, inna within, and names in -vin, e.g. Snove (from Snjōvin, cf V. Jansson 1951: 209). Examples occur in MSS from 1250 on, but not commonly until after 1400, e.g. Nw kono the woman from konun (VA 1406).

-k/-g merged in unstressed position, becoming g, which was readily lost, e.g. in the suffixes -ig and -lik > -lig: CSc  $d\bar{a}ligR$  evil, poor > Nw  $d\hat{a}le(g)$  Sw  $d\hat{a}lig$ ; MLG  $v\bar{a}rlik$  dangerous > ODa farligh > Da Nw Sw farlig [fārli]; Sweriki Sweden > Sverige [sværjə]. The personal pronouns in -k > -g; a few Sw forms with -k (jak, mik) Vg Hall



Smål are probably restorations. Forms with -g appeared in fourteenth-century MSS; they were later lost or vocalized, giving forms like Fa WNw e/x ENw je Sw ja Da jx for CSc ek(a) I.

-t/-ð merged in unstressed position, becoming ð (often written dh), and was then lost in some dialects. The loss affected such inflections as the n. def. art. and the perf. part. -it, the wk. pret. and perf. part. -aði/-að, and commonly unstressed words like at to, vit/pit we/you dual, pat that. MS evidence of voicing appeared soon after 1300 and examples of loss became common after 1400 (Noreen ASG 266; Indrebø NM 236). General loss was characteristic of Fa Nw Sw (north of Götaland) (see Map 19). The consonants remained or were restored in Da GöSw Ic DalSw. Spellings after 1400 like vit we, kastat thrown, huset the house and corresponding speech forms in JyDa DN SSw GöSw DalSw suggest restoration for purposes of morphemic distinction. Hesselman's hypothesis (1948-52: 321-6) that the -t tended to remain in dialects where the preceding vowel was liable to loss (as in JyDa and GöSw) is at least a plausible suggestion.

-R (> -r) was the most frequent CSc suffix (9.4.1(4)d). In spite of its many grammatical functions -R was lost in large parts of Sc. The loss must have begun before the merger of R with r, since the latter was scarcely ever lost (fabir father, sumar summer). This morphologically complex process was most recently studied in a detailed analysis of the noun plurals by Tjäder (1961). Loss was promoted by such factors as: (1) assimilatory absorption before following consonant (Hultman 1931; Haugen 1948), as in compounds (sonaRdōttir grand-daughter > sonadotter), before the def. art. (hestaRniR the horses > hestaner), or in a following word; (2) dissimilation after an r in the same word (dōmaraR judges > dōmara); (3) allomorph alternation (hestaR nom. pl. vs. hesta acc. pl. horses but  $b\bar{o}kR$  nom. and acc. pl. books,  $t\bar{t}\bar{o}iR$  nom. and acc. pl. times); (4) influence from neighboring dialects.

Medieval texts showed regular loss in some categories in central OSw (fourteenth-century MSS esp. from Smål Ög) and in Nw (at least by 1300, e.g. *erfingia* nom. pl. m. Stavanger 1305). In the modern dialects -R was lost in two areas, with an intervening area of retention. In a southern Da-influenced area (including SWNw SmålSw GöSw) -R was lost, at least in the m. pl. (Da created a new pl. in -er from the f. pl.). LG influence was suggested for this area

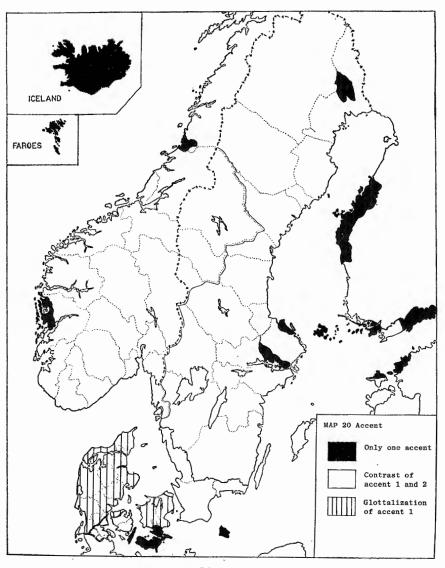
by Hesselman (1948–52: 335). But the loss of -R was even more complete in a northern area including NWNw and the rest of Nw except SENw as well as much of NSw. In the intervening belt, stretching from W to E across Nw and Sw, there must have been extensive restoration and restructuring (according to Tjäder by generalization from the consonant stems and the f. pl., but see Hesselman 1948–52: 331 and Magnusson 1965).

#### C. Accent

II.3.22. It is characteristic of most Sc dialects (and standard languages) that stressed syllables may be accented in two different ways, which we shall here refer to as Accent I (marked by an acute accent: Nw Sw lu'sen the louse) and 2 (grave accent: Nw lu'sen miserly). Accent will here include both tone and glottalization; generally speaking, tone is characteristic of Nw Sw (incl. SSw = EDa) and some Da (SJy SFy), while glottalization (stød) is characteristic of Da (but not SDa). The dialects that lack the distinction are marginal: Ic Fa SDa BoDa some UppSw Upper-KalixSw FiSw EstSw and a WNw region around but not including Bergen (see Map 20; Witting 1968).

The tonal distinction is closely related to sentence intonation, since it is combined with the latter into a single contour. Thus Accent 1 may have a typically rising or falling movement, depending on the pitch that is normal for stressed syllables in the given dialect. We may distinguish a central area (ENw TNw WSw) where the pitch is low (L), so that Accent 1 is rising, resulting in a 'questioning' or 'sing-song' pitch associated, e.g., with Oslo speech, even at the end of many non-questioning sentences. Elsewhere (WNw NNw CSw NSw JyDa Gu SSw) the stress pitch is high (H), so that Accent 1 is falling or rising-falling (depending on where the peak comes in the stressed syllable), as also in the non-tonal parts of Sc (Ic Fa Da FiSw) and in Eng. NGer is also generally falling, while SGer is rising and reminiscent of the central Sc form. The varieties of Accent 1 thus fall within the range of Gmc pitch patterns and may be regarded as an unmarked tone; it is essentially neutral and can simply be identified with stress. This is reflected in the fact that newer loanwords (unless they belong to marked categories) usually get Accent 1.

Accent 2 is the peculiarly Sc accent, which requires descriptive



Map 20

and historical explanation. It is limited to polysyllables, and is phonetically characterized by a tonal peak (H or L) that follows and does not coincide with the primary stress of the first syllable. The peak is manifested in different ways, according to the dialect in question: as a delayed H at the end of the first or beginning of the second syllable, with subsequent fall (SSw Gu BergslagenSw BergenNw); as an H in the second syllable, giving a double accent peak, heard by non-natives as a second (or even primary) stress (SthSw StavangerNw); as a delayed L in dialects having L pitch on primary stress, giving a falling pitch in the first syllable and a rising one in the second (ENw; Haugen 1949b: 279). It is quite clear that these differences are geographically distributed, like other dialect features, but they have not been completely mapped. A quantitative model of the relation between the tonal accents (Öhman 1967) supports our view that the variety of tones can be accounted for by tonal placement, more precisely described as a 'negative impulse' which lowers the pitch of the sentence intonation at successively different points in the curve:

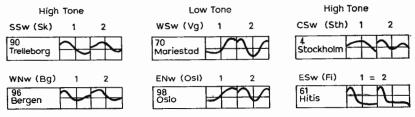


Fig. 12. Representative Tonal Contours (Meyer, cit. Öhman 1967)

Since accents are not marked in writing, except in texts written by modern linguists, any account of their origin and development is based entirely on hypothetical reconstruction. The fact that they are absent in some of the most conservative dialects (Ic Fa FiSw) suggests that if they did exist in CSc, they were non-distinctive (9.4.1). This is confirmed by present-day rules for their occurrence: words that were monosyllabic in CSc have Accent 1, polysyllables have Accent 2. The quality of Accent 2 was therefore associated with the nature of the second syllable: some feature of length, stress or pitch that also helped to preserve it from loss, possibly even derived via Gmc from IE (Oftedal 1952; Hamp 1959). The accents could not become distinctive until monosyllables added a second syllable, which

did not acquire Accent 2: (a) the definite article, e.g.  $s\bar{o}l$ -in > so'lenthe sun, menn'r-nir > men'nene/män'nen the men,  $h\bar{u}$ 's-it > hu'se(t) the house; (b) a svarabhakti vowel, e.g. akr > a'ker field, vatn > a'kervat'ten water, hasl > has'sel hazel, bitr > bi'ter bites v. Even here they did not become fully distinctive until later changes, especially weak vowel merger, produced minimal contrasts like DN ak'sel shoulder (ONw axl): ak'sel axle (ONw oxull), kra'vene the demands (ONw krafin): kra'vene the collars (ONw kragarnir; ODa krawænæ). Here Accent I still functions as a marker of the monosyllabic base (krav n. pl.: kraver m. pl.), so that one can recover the underlying rules that are derived from CSc. In Sw this is easier to do, since there has been less merger; but even so there are many words that are arbitrarily accented, especially loanwords, e.g. Sw taf'fel table:gaf'fel fork (Nw both [']); Sw re'gel rule: re'gel bolt (both from Ger). There are dialectal differences in this respect, e.g. Nw sa'ga: Sw sa'ga saga, Nw Ei'nar: Sw Ej'nar PN. Accent 2 is normal in cpds, but in some cpds with monosyllabic first member Accent 1 is retained, e.g. after genitives: DN manns'drakt man's costume: mann'drap manslaughter.

11.3.23. The Da stød is also an accent, whose distribution roughly corresponds to that of Accent 1: OSc monosyllables, e.g. Da bonder [bøn?aR] farmers: bønner [bøn'aR] beans (CSc bondR: ODa bønor; Nw [bøn'nər:bøn'nər], Sw bön'der:bö'nor). The stød is not a full glottal stop, but a catch or constriction which reduces the vibration of the vocal cords briefly (S. Smith 1944). It can therefore occur only in voiced sounds: if the vowel is long, it occurs on the vowel, if short, on the following consonant. Final voiced consonants are sometimes unvoiced, and can then take no stod. It can occur with secondary stress (which is tonally unmarked in the tone languages), but is lost with loss of stress (and even in some restressed words like man [man] one, contrasting with mand [man] man?). The presence of stod in Da is attested at least back to the sixteenth century (10.5.5), but its close adherence to the distribution of Accent 1 suggests that it developed as a device to maintain the distinction of accent, at a time when the weakening of Da unstressed vowels was bringing about the loss of tone. Stød strengthened the stress of Accent I words, even while Accent 2 words became tonally identical with the latter. Of course, the Da stod must not be confused with the WJvDa glottalization (11.3.11).

The function of accents in Sc is lexical (each word has an inherent

accent), morphological (e.g. marking off the def. art.), and phonological (with special phonetic forms for each dialect), but it is also syntactic: each stress group has its tonal contour, which may include a number of syllables following the stress, up to the end of the utterance: Nw Vil'-du-ke? Don't you want to?; Vil'le-du-ke? Didn't you want to?

11.4 Grammar: From Synthesis to Analysis. The trend noted earlier in ODa (10.5.11) toward a merger of stem classes and inflections was also present in the other mainland Sc dialects. This appears to continue a development from IE over PGmc to OSc, and it has been maintained that it was an inevitable result of the fixing of stress on primary syllables. What still seems like a formidable inflectional system to the modern Sc (and English-speaking) learner had already experienced considerable merger and was far from maximally differentiated. In the twenty-four possible slots of the adj. paradigm (4 cases, 2 numbers, 3 genders), there were at most thirteen different forms. The case of Finnish, with its well-preserved unstressed syllables, reminds us that tonic stress does not inevitably lead to apocope. External influence, e.g. from the LG speech community, probably played a major role, as suggested by the way in which the changes spread into those areas most easily accessible to Germans and often failed to touch the more remote dialects (Ic Fa DalSw). MLG, ME and MSc formed part of a central, innovating area, with intense communication, while Ic in the north and MHG in the south were marginal and (hence?) conservative.

**11.4.1.** Disagreements have been expressed among scholars as to whether the development was primarily phonological or morphological; e.g. A. Hansen (1956a) leaned to the latter, O. Beito (1957) to the former view. Such a change as the replacement of the dat. sg. n. -inu by nom. acc. sg. n. -it was of course a morphological rather than a phonological innovation. But the general trend toward loss of final consonants and vowels presented in the preceding section was a phonological condition for such mergers and replacements. In many dialects -it > -et > -e, while -inu > -in > -en > -e, leaving, e.g.,  $h\bar{u}s$ -it and  $h\bar{u}s$ -inu both as  $h\bar{u}s$ -e (with only Tone 1 and 2 to distinguish them, if that). In a classic survey of the Nordic decay of noun declensions, Janzén (1936) characterized the development as an intricate interplay of psychological and phonetic factors: as the weak syllables decayed, the feeling of the speakers for inflectional distinctions also

weakened, which further reduced the importance of the weak syllables.

11.4.2. Some writers have also expressed evaluative views of the change, from Indrebø (NM 247) who wrote regretfully of the 'dissolution and downfall' (upploysing og nedfall) of the CSc system, to Jespersen (1922: 319 ff.) who considered it 'progress in language'. Perhaps the continued presence in Norden of the Icelanders as a rock of resistance has given students of the other Sc languages a bad conscience, or at least a sense of loss, similar to that which many fanciers of classical Greek and Latin have felt about the modern descendants of these languages. In the English-speaking world there is no group of 'Old English' speakers comparable to the Icelanders to remind us of what Eng might have been if the Norman conquest had not occurred! The other view, that the change has been a simplification, may in fact be a self-deception, since the loss of inflectional information has had to be compensated for by other means, e.g. by greater complexity in the prepositions and a less flexible word order. Language structures are kept in balance by the opposing needs of speakers for economy of encoding and of hearers for economy of decoding. In Sc (as in Eng) the trend has been one of limiting the use of inflections to external, referential functions (such as plural or preterite), while assigning the internal, syntactic functions (such as concord, identity of reference) to form words and their sequences.

11.4.3. The MSS of the MSc period reflect, in the form of numerous 'errors', the problems scribes were having with the traditional paradigms. These begin within the OSc period, and their increase after the middle of the fourteenth century could have been due to inadequate training; the clergy were hard hit by the Black Death. There were also the shifts in political and commercial relations which led to new language policies and an infusion of foreign scribes. In 1449, when the shift from Nw to Da writing traditions was in full swing in Norway, the archbishop of Oslo (Aslak Bolt; DN 2: 783) issued a charter which swings wildly between such traditional forms as weer we, -om dat. pl. of nouns, -xr (from -ir) nom. pl. of adj., -om 1. p. pl. of verbs, and -er 2. p. pl. of verbs, and novel forms like vi, -xr, -e, -e and -in respectively. Most important for the uncertainty of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century scribes, however, were the changing patterns of their own speech.

11.4.4. The inflections of CSc (and OSc) were typically syncretis-

tic, each suffix having more than one simultaneous function, e.g. -R (> -r) marked its stem for case (nom.), gender (m.), and number (sg.), if the stem was an adj. or a noun of certain declensions. But the same suffix could also function in other paradigms, e.g. -R could also be nom.-acc. f. sg.; nom.-acc. pl. m.-f.; and with a preceding vowel m.-f. pl. (-aR, -iR, -uR). In the verb system the same -R was 2.-3. p. sg. pres. active indic. in strong verbs, and with preceding vowels the same in weak verbs. The MSc development limited -r to two of these functions, m.-f. pl. of nouns and pres. of verbs, usually with a preceding vowel. The system of concord and government required that most categories be marked several times in each construction, e.g. hins goba mannsins the good man's. In MSc this redundancy yielded to single marking in many cases, e.g. to thæn godhæ mannæns (with one instead of four gen. markers), or to replacement by word order or a form word (e.g. a preposition). The information conveyed ('the underlying structure') was much the same, but the means selected to convey it ('the surface structure') changed drastically. The inflections typically developed in one or more of the following wavs: (a) they merged phonetically (11.3.10); (b) they acquired new functions; (c) they were replaced by other devices; (d) they changed their lexical incidence by analogical spread or contraction.

11.4.5. The obligatory categories of CSc grammar and the parts of speech to which they applied were:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Nouns	Gender	Case	Number	Deter- mination					
Pron.	Gender	Case	Number	Deter- mination		Person			
Adj.	Gender	Case	Number	Deter- mination	Compari- son				
Adv.					Compari- son				
Verbs		(Case)	Number			Person	Tense	Mode	Diathesi

Instead of treating the changes by parts of speech, we shall here consider them by the nine morphological categories listed and add to these two syntactic ones, (10) conjunction and (11) word order. Changes do not apply to Ic or Fa unless expressly stated.

(1) Gender 
$$(m., f., n.)$$

11.4.6. In CSc gender was a covert (i.e. lexical) category of the noun, identifiable by its declensional pattern, originally based on the

stem classes, but increasingly identified with the genders (Cederschiöld 1913: 4-5). Overtly gender was marked in the modifiers of the noun, i.e. adjectives, articles and anaphoric pronouns (hann m., hōn f., pat n.). The three genders served to distinguish animate/inanimate and male/female in a very limited group of nouns, being otherwise purely traditional and largely arbitrary. Nevertheless the three genders were preserved as categories in the overwhelming majority of Sc dialects down to the present. Some confusion of m. and f. can be detected in ODa MSS (Br-N GG 3. 271), foreshadowing the later merger in standard Da (DN) and Sw, as well as BgNw. Only JyDa dialects have merged in this way to a common gender (c. g.) in the S and E, while WJy made all nouns c. g. except for mass nouns which became n. (e.g. barn child is referred to as den, mælk milk as det!) (Br-N 1927c, map 23). A few FiSw dialects have lost all gender distinction, no doubt under Fi influence (Ahlbäck 1946).

Where the categories have been preserved, it is the rule that nouns retain their traditional genders. But there have been a great many gender shifts, resulting in discrepancies between different dialects. Studies devoted to this topic have suggested attraction from certain categories (e.g. tree names have tended to become f.), or from phonetically or semantically similar words, or from words that are often linked in speech. (See Cederschiöld 1913; Beito 1954; Br-N GG 3. 367-79; Janzén 1964-6.) For example, the terms for the four seasons have become uniformly m. in many dialects, presumably by attraction from vetr winter, an old m. noun (often used in the sense of 'year'; and it was after all the dominant season in Scandinavia). Ic and Fa preserved an older state, with spring, summer and autumn as n. Kveld evening shifted from n. to m. in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, presumably attracted by aptann evening and morgon morning, both m. Loanwords caused many problems of gender assignment and may have contributed to the merger of m, and f, in the urban dialects.

Even in CSc the overt marking of gender did not apply to all cases and numbers of the noun modifiers, e.g. gen. pl. (-a) or dat. pl. (-um). With the leveling of cases (below) gender marking was virtually reduced to the nom. sg. and pl. (see table opposite).

The m. sg. -R was either lost (by assimilation or general dropping, see 11.3.21), or an intrusive vowel developed, -x-/-e in most dialects, -a- or -u- in some, which was preserved even after the loss

of -R (e.g. some WNw MidNw). The suffix -er was still commonly written in Sw in the sixteenth century and has survived in some dialects (BoDa SkSw DalSw: dåmmer m., dåmm f. dumb). Loss of -e(r) merged m. and f., but -t mostly remained. In the def. art., pat, and generally in unstressed position  $-t > -\eth$  and was then lost in Fa as well as most Nw and Sw dialects north of Gö.

Nom.	Sg. m.	f.	n.	Pl.	m.	f.	n.
Strong adj.	-R	-uØ	-t		-iR	-aR	-uØ
Def. art.	-inn	-in	-it		- $iniR$	-inaR	-in
Anaph. pron.	hann	hōn	þat		peiR	pxR	þau
Weak adj.	-i	-a	-a		-u	-u	-u

Where -nn vs. -n represented m. vs. f., the distinction was preserved in two chief ways: (1) In Da (incl. Sk) by palatalizing (and in part of Sk velarizing) -nn (11.3.21) while preserving -n (einn m. one  $> \bar{e}nn > enn > inn > in_{j}n_{j}|ing$ , while ein f.  $> \bar{e}n > en$ ; -inn m.  $> -in > -in_{j}|-ing$  while -in f. > -en). (2) In Nw and Sw by dropping the last n in each (einn m.  $> ein > \bar{e}n$ , while  $ein > ei > \bar{e}$ ; -inn m. > -enn > -en, while -in f. > -en > -e/-x/-a). Da MSS distinguish short -en m. from long -en f., but both were written -en m. The Sw Bible wrote -en m. and -en f., but then both became -en, which in Sw as in Da led to their merger in standard speech.

The anaphoric pronouns were well maintained, but in dialects with merged m. and f. they were limited to sexually marked beings, and a new anaphoric usage of pann m. developed for non-sexual c. g. The older usage is illustrated in this sentence from the Jutland Law: Sæl bondæ sinæ egnæ iorth oc othær hænnæ. . . . If a farmer sells his (f.) own (f.) land and wastes it (lit. 'her') . . . (NkS 295, 8°). A younger version of the same sentence occurs in a contemporary MS (Flensborg MS, c. 1300), in which the acc. f. sinæ egnæ is replaced by nom. m./f. sin æghæn and the acc. f. hænnæ (orig. dat.) is replaced by then 'it'. This use of den became standard in Da Sw DN, but not in NN Fa Ic. In Sw it was not established until the sixteenth century, and traces of han and hon for m. and f. inanimates survived in archaic-poetic usage down into modern times.

In the pl. adj. -R was lost everywhere, leaving a widespread distinction of m. -e, f. -a, n.  $-\emptyset$ , e.g. in WNw MidNw DalSw. Two further changes were the addition of a vowel to the n. adjectives: stor hus big houses > store hus(e), e.g. in Da; and the leveling of all

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genders under one or the other of the two vowels, -e in Da DN NN, -a in Sw.

### (2) Case (nom., acc., dat., gen.)

11.4.7. Each CSc case had several syntactic functions, e.g. the nom. as subject of the verb, as apposition to another nom., as predicate noun (or adj.), the other three (oblique) cases as objects of the verb and of prepositions. The acc. could also be predicate apposition, subject of infinitives, measure of space and time; the dat, also indirect reference, instrumental, comparative, adverbial, subject of an impersonal verb; the gen. also possessive, partitive, adverbial, subject or object of a nominalization, etc. (Wessén Sspr 3. 10-28; Nygaard 81-153). The MSc reduction of cases left the nouns with a nom./gen. distinction, personal pron. with a nom./gen./acc. and the adj. with none at all. Case disappeared earlier after verbs than prep., in indef. nouns than in def. nouns, etc. The case system was replaced by a fixed base form for each word, to which suffixes with specific functions were added, virtually an agglutinative instead of the CSc inflectional system.

(a) Nominative-Accusative. In most declensions the nom. was clearly marked in relation to the dat. and gen., but already in CSc it was often merged with the acc.: f. sg. and pl. of nouns, f. pl. of adj., n. sg. and pl. of nouns, adj., and pron. There were sufficient analogies for continued leveling of the remaining distinctions:

	Sg. nom.	acc.	nom.	acc.	Pl. nom.	acc.
	m.	m.	f.	f.	m.	m.
Strong nouns	-R	-Ø	(-Ø	-Ø)	-aR -iR	-a -i -u
Strong adj.	-R	-an	-uØ	-a	-iR	-a
Def. art.	(-inn	-inn)	-in	-ina	-iniR	-ina
Weak nouns	-i	-a	-a	-u	-aR	-a
Weak adj.	-i	-a	-a	-u	(-u	-u)
Pers. pron. 1. p. 2. p. 3. p. Interrog. pron.	ek þü (hann hwaR, hwä	mik þik hann) hwan	(same) (same) hōn (same)	hana	wit wēR (þ)it (þ)ēr þeiR	okkR/oss ykkR/yÞR (iÞR) þā

The merger of nom. and acc. functions produced a new sg. base form partly coinciding with the nom. and partly with the acc. The common loss of m. -R left the acc. as the base form of most strong nouns. A contributing factor, as shown by Hesselman (1931), was the loss by 1400 of the -R before the article: fiskRinn the fish > fiskin. In the indef. form -er was still common in sixteenth-century Sw writing, especially in animate nouns that commonly occurred as subjects or imperatives: konunger king, prester priest; terms of abuse like slarver scamp, FiSw bytingær changeling (Ahlbäck 1946: 26). This principle was observed by Tegnér (1892) and elaborated by Hesselman (1931). As a nom. marker the -er (or -e in DalSw) survived only in RoslSw; elsewhere (as in some WNw) it merely became part of the base form, e.g. Sw dager dawn (from OSw dager day nom. sg.) vs. dag day. The dialects that have preserved it best are the EDa (SSw) ones, but here it is extended to all genders and cases (Ejder 1945).

In the weak nouns nom. and acc. were distinguished longer than in the strong, for as long as the old vowel system was maintained. In fifteenth-century Nw and in sixteenth-century Sw biblical style there were still such pairs as näste nom.:nästa acc. neighbor, Herren nom.: Herran acc. the Lord, tienerinna nom.:tienerinno acc. maidservant (the examples from Sw). In the sixteenth century the distinction was lost, except for a few dialects (RoslSw DalSw). Elsewhere the base form generalized the nom. in WNw and SSw (including Boh Gö CSw), the acc. in ENw TNw DalSw UppSw NSw ESw (the 'inner area'), especially of inanimate nouns (Hesselman 1905: 16). Standard Sw reflects a crossing of dialects here, with hage/haga garden, flotte raft/flotta fleet, grädden the cream/gräddan la crème (e.g. of society). Nw has NN fura vs. DN furu fir, and in the dialects gata/gatu road, etc.

In the adj., pron., and art. the nom.—acc. distinction was lost in MSc; by 1450 Sw had replaced f. def. acc. solena the sun with solen (wk. f. -una with -an). The m. -er was retained longer in Sw adj. than in nouns, often as a poetic form (Bellman, Fröding). Acc. m. -an/-en also remained as an archaism in ballads and idiomatic phrases, but without acc. function: på (Da) hviden/(Sw) vitan/(Nw) kvitan sand on the white sands. Acc. f. -a was in use in the Sw Bible, but rare elsewhere: Tu skalt ära tin fadher och tina (> din) modher Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother. In weak adj. the nom.—acc. were distinguished in the Sw Bible, but gradually settled into a m.—f. pattern: m. -e, f. -a (den unge the young man, den unga the young woman).

We saw earlier that Da developed two paradigms in the indef. pl. (10.5.11), -e from the m. acc. -a and -er from the f. nom.—acc. -ar/-er. In most OSw writing the pl. -R was lost, but was then reintroduced

in all positions toward the end of the MSw period (fifteenth century), making -(V)r a base form for the pl. of m. and f. nouns. But in the adj. pl. -R disappeared in late OSc; in biblical Sw a nom. pl. -e vs. acc. pl. -a was maintained as a sheer archaism (onde: onda evil).

Only the pers. pron. maintained a nom.-acc. distinction down to the present (as in Eng). What we have here called acc. was formally a dat. in many cases, e.g. in Sw MSS by 1500, where honum and henne became the regular acc. forms, parallel to earlier Da hannem (> ham) and hende. The older acc. survived in enclitic position: Han lagdhen He laid him (i.e. -n for hann), lösana release her (-na for hana) in Sw fifteenth-century MSS; in Nw and Sw dialects down to the present, e.g. Har du sett'n Have you seen him (sett'a seen her). Similarly the pl.  $b\bar{a}$  (and f.  $b\bar{x}r$ , n. bau) was replaced by the dat. beim (> them > dem > dom), and in the interrog. hwaR and hwan were both replaced by the dat. hweim (> Da DN hvem/Sw vem), but Nw kvann/kven from acc. hwarn/hwern. The maintenance of a nom.-acc. distinction in the pronouns has been explained by the supposed need for more explicit grammatical reference in these semantically empty forms (A. Hansen 1956a). This may apply to written discourse, but in speech there has been a good deal of nom.-acc. merger, e.g. Nw nom. acc. hann ('n) he/him, ho ('a) she/her, WNw dei/ENw dem they/them. A change in syntactic classification of the pronouns was signaled in Da (and later in DN) when the acc. became common in predicate position, from the end of the fifteenth century: Thet er mægh It is me (instead of jeg I, as in Sw NN Ic Fa).

(b) Dative. The dat. was uniquely marked in the pl. by the allomorph -um in all classes, in late OSc not in the weak adj. (OSc -u). In the sg. there were more alternatives:

	Strong		Weak	
Nouns Adj., pron. Def. art.		-i fØ -u -Ri -inu -inni	ma na -a -a -anum -anu	fu -u -unni
Pers. pron.	sg. 1. p. <i>mēR</i>	2. p. <i>þēR</i>	3. p. m. honum f. henni n. hui	refl. sēR

The m.-n. -i was often missing in OSc, especially in i-stems, making the dat. identical with the acc. Instances of -i (>-e) could still be found in the Sw Bible, e.g. aff Egyptj lande from Egypt's land

(Exod. 20). But it was not used in all instances where Ic used it, e.g. aff morghon/Ic af Morne (Gen. 1; see text below), ifrå thet watn/Ic fra peim Vøtnum from that (those) water(s). In the indef. noun the dat. probably lost its function in all mainland Sc by 1400 (in the pl. by 1500), but numerous traces remain in most dialects as idiomatic phrases: sg. Sw gudi lov praise God; DN komme på fote get on one's feet; Da DN i live alive (Sw i livet); pl. Nw Sw stundom at times; Sw lagom suitable (Nw dial lugum); NN i gjerdom/Sw i gärdom/Da DN i g(j)ære afoot (ON i gerðom). In adj. and pron. the dat. generally disappeared except in a few dialects.

Long after the dat. had disappeared in the indef. noun, it remained in the suffixed def. art. Here it was regular in the Sw Bible: i himlenom in heaven, på iordenne on earth, j watnena in the water; but på diwpet where the Ic Bible has yfer Vnderdiupinu over the abyss (Gen. 1). Mostly the dat. survived in prepositional phrases, long after it had been lost in other functions, e.g. OSw radha rikeno rule the kingdom > Sw råda över riket, OSw Wij leggiom hestomen betzl j munnen We put a bit in the mouths of the horses > Sw vi lägger betsel i munnen på hästarna. In the def. form the dat. survived into the present in a large area of interior Nw and NSw, more widely in the pl. than in the sg.: in Nw from Voss Hall Tot Sol (and Set) north to Salta (except So and coastal T), in Sw in Härj Jämt upper Dal NSw (Map 21). Studies of its gradual weakening in modern times under the impact of the standard languages have been made for Medelpad in Sw (Hellbom 1961) and for Hallingdal in Nw (Beito 1958). The dat. art. is greatly abbreviated, however, being reduced to -a or -e in the m./n. (often identical with the nom. f.) and to -en in the f. (often = to nom. m.), to -om or -o (WNw) in the pl. For details see studies by Dahlstedt and Ågren 1954: 263; Skulerud 1939; H. Christiansen 1946-8: 216-17. Dialects with preserved dat. in the def. art. usually have it also in the 3. p. sg. pron. (m. honom/om, f. henne/na/n) and in place-names.

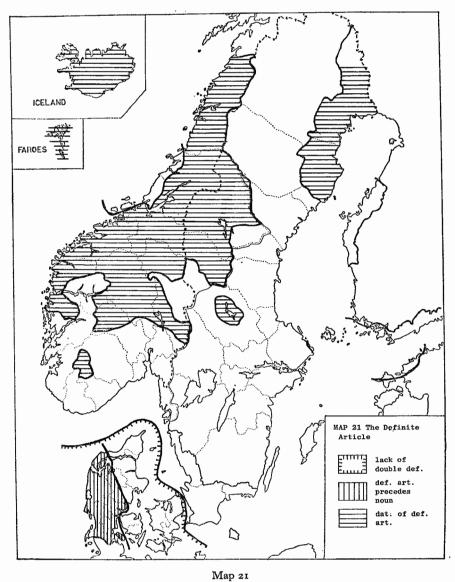
(c) Genitive. In the pl. the gen. was uniquely marked by the allomorph -a, but not unambiguously, since this was also m. acc. pl. and several sg. forms. In the sg. the allomorphs were as shown in table overleaf.

MSc MSS show many confusions that reveal a general trend towards making -s, the most frequent and distinctive suffix, applicable to all forms (Janzén 1936: 47-8). Some of the steps in this

	Strong		Weak					
Nouns Adj., pron. Def. art.	ms/-aR n -s -ins	s faR -s -RaR -ins -innaR		ma n -a -ans		-a -a -ans	fu -u -unnaR	
Pers. pron.	sg. 1. p. min 2. p. þin		3. p. m. hans f. hennaR n. þess			refl. sīn		

development were: (1) -s was added to nouns from other declensions, e.g. r-stems: OSw faðurs/ONw foðurs father's; u-stems: sons (even sonars) son's: i-stems: vins (even vinars) friend's; n-stems: sira Helghas Father Helgi's (Oslo 1394). (2) -s was added to fem. nouns after 1400: OSw drottnings queen's, brūðs bride's, ONw möðors mother's. (3) -s was added to pl. nouns by 1500, either to the stem or to the old pl.: OSw herras/herrars lords'. (4) Gen. was lost before the def. art.: ONw prestsins > prestens the priest's, ferdarinnar > ferðinnar the journey's, landsins > landens the land's. (5) -s was added to the def. art., regardless of gender or number: kirkjunnaR > ONw kirkionis the church's (Bergen 1459), drottninginnar > OSw drotningennes the queen's, jūðanna > OSw iūdhannas iūdharnas the Iews'. (6) -s could be added to the last word in a noun phrase, not necessarily the noun itself, becoming a 'group genitive', by 1500: Konninger udi Danmarcks Breffwe kings of Denmark's letters (for a long time this was not accepted in Da writing, and still is not in Sw, though common, probably universal in speech).

Parallel with the extension of -s went a restriction in the functions of the gen. Verbs and prepositions were no longer construed with the gen., though numerous phrases remain which reflect this usage, especially with the prep. til to: til havs at sea; til lands by land; til freds satisfied; Nw til mote/Da til mode/Sw till mods of mind (OSc til moda from MLG tō mōde); Da DN komme til orde/Sw komma till orda get the floor (lit. 'come to words'). While literary Da and Sw expanded the use of the gen. in response to Lat and Ger influence, the spoken dialects tended to restrict it to personal possession or to use as a formal link between the parts of compounds: Sw barnsben childhood (lit. 'child's legs'), barnahand child's hand (orig. pl. -a), beside more usual barn- in cpds. This limitation affected most mainland dialects as well as Fa (Nw, Sw at least N and E of Gö, see Jörgensen 1970: 41; on Fa see Hamre 1961).



The usual replacements for the gen. were prepositions, compounds and relative clauses: hestens hode is formal DN; more common in speech is hestehodet or hodet på hesten; similarly in Sw kyrkans tak is mostly referred to as kyrktaket or taket på kyrkan, or even taket som är på kyrkan. Another replacement is a German-derived construction with the poss. adj., commonly used in WJyDa and WNw: æ skrædder hans hus/skrædderen sitt hus 'the tailor his house' (cf MLG de schräder sīn hūs). A similar construction, but in reverse order, occurs widely in the large inner area that uses personal pronouns before proper nouns: skia hans Arne Arne's skis ('the skis of him Arne') (TNw NNw NSw).

### (3) Number (sg., pl.)

**11.4.8.** In CSc the plural of the noun was marked by a great variety of allomorphs, each contrasting with a corresponding sg. in the same case and declension (stem class), e.g. hestR horse nom. sg.:hestaR horses, but hesti dat. sg.:hestum pl., etc. (see tables in preceding sections). In the adj., pron., art. and verbs the pl. was also marked to show concord with the noun, markings that had no referential value unless the noun happened to be deleted. The merger of the case endings in mainland Sc left the marking of plurality to the nom.—acc. case forms, which were -VR for m. and f.,  $-\emptyset$  for n. Beside this, a number of high-frequency words had i-umlaut alternation ( $f\bar{o}tR$  foot:  $f\bar{o}tR$  feet) or (more rarely) u-umlaut (lamb lamb: lpmb lambs).

The loss of -R (11.3.21) in many dialects left the stem vowel as plural marker, e.g. TNNw NSw -a/-e/-â, for the respective m. and f. declensions. These were well preserved in dialects that had not, like Da, leveled the vowels, e.g. in standard Sw and older NN (with restored -r), as -ar/-er/-or. As expected, a number of nouns had shifted class membership, away from the less frequent classes (Magnusson 1965). In Da dialects -e/-er became markers of two declensions, except in EJy where -er was generalized (as in DN). Monosyllabic neuters retained a zero plural, except in Da, where they added -e. I-umlaut alternation was preserved in most words (bok/bog book: boker/boger books), though monosyllables ending in a vowel lost it in CSw (ko cow:kor cows, tâ toe:târ toes vs. GöSw pl. kör tär/Nw kyr tær/Da køer tæer).

Plural -R was generally lost in the adj., making -e m. -a f.  $-\emptyset$  n. in the more conservative dialects: Nw dial. langa næter long nights vs.

stor hus big houses. In the fifteenth century MSS there were trends towards generalizing the vowels as pl., e.g. vor insigli our seals n. pl. > wore incigle (SoNw 1452). In most dialects -e (Sw -a) became the sign of the pl. It should be noted that in predicate position some dialects even dropped this (TNw NNw NSw FiSw; see Jörgensen 1970: 44): husa e stor the houses are big.

The pl. suffixed article -iniR (etc.) of m. and f. nouns combined with the pl. suffixes in various ways. Alternation between forms with and without -r was common in fifteenth-century MSS, e.g. fiskane/fiskaner the fishes (acc. fiskana/fiskanar); see discussion by Hesselman (1948–52: 188). These were then reduced in various ways, e.g. (for the a-stems) -ane/-ana WNw SENw SSw UppSw; -an MidNw TNw NNw NSw FiSw; -ar Gut DalSw VmSw; -a ENw VbSw. Except in the last two areas the usual marker of the article is -n, with or without a following vowel. The -arna of Sw is a restored form (pl. -ar+-na) like the -arne of older NN and -erne of Da; in the dialects -r- survived only as -d- in Nw dialects where rn > dn (Shl Hall Vald). Consonant stems retained the noun -r better, giving Da and Sw MS forms like hændrena the hands, from which some Sw dialects developed händren/händera. The n. article -in developed like the f. sg. wherever leveling did not bring in m. or f. suffixes.

In the verb the sg.-pl. distinction was neglected at times even in OSc, especially after a series of singulars or when it preceded the subject (Nygaard 1905: 67; Wessén Sspr 3. 122). MSc weakening of the final vowel in trisyllables merged sg. and pl. in weak preterites: kastaõi sg./kastaõu pl. > kastadhe. Elsewhere the pl. continued to be marked in written Da and Sw down to modern times: in the pres. by absence of the sg. -r, in the pret. by adding -o/-e to the pl. stem (often with ablaut alternation): kastar throws: kasta throw, var was: voro were. While these forms were lost in favor of the sg. in most dialects, including standard speech in Sw and Da, they survived in many speech islands: MidNw VossNw SSw BoDa FjoldeDa Gut(Fårö) NSw EstSw. Fa Ic preserved them in full, but the other standard languages gave them up (Da DN in the nineteenth century, Sw in the twentieth).

### (4) Determination (def., indef.)

11.4.9. Determiners are those words or suffixes that specify the identity or non-identity of successive nouns in discourse and relate

them to the listener (Janzén 1936: 96). Adj. and pron. traditionally served this purpose in IE, but in the daughter languages (earliest Gk, later Lat, finally Gmc) pure form words and suffixes developed as markers of determination, viz. the articles. These were of two types, the def. and the indef. Def. determination could also be marked by possessive adj. (my, his etc.), possessor nouns (the man's), and demonstrative pron. (this, that). Indef. determination could be marked by the numerals and the indef. pron. (one, some, any). In Gmc the weak adj. was probably the first def. determiner, still used in OSc, e.g. in Hākon gōpi Hakon the Good. To this a more emphatic demonstrative could be added, e.g. Gormr hinn gamli Gorm the Old ('Gorm that old one'). In CSc this usage was well developed, as we see from phrases like in swāsu goð the gentle gods in the Poetic Edda side by side with unmarked phrases like nyt regin (the) helpful powers (both in Vafþrúðnismál).

This common WGmc-NGmc development was complicated in NGmc by the suffixation of the def. art. (9.4.4). Rare in the CSc period, it was fully developed in OSc. In the Da laws (thirteenth century) eight to ten percent of the nouns had a def. art., but by 1450 this had grown to fifteen percent (by comparison a nineteenth-century novelist had sixty-three percent, according to Skautrup 1. 269). It is quite probable that the growth of the def. art. was associated with the parallel loss of case-gender markers: it was a new form of concord. While other categories weakened, the articles grew stronger.

The def. art. was the earliest of the two; it grew from unstressed uses of the demonstrative pronouns, especially  $s\bar{a}$  (with its suppletive forms in p-, pann, pat) and hinn|inn. Pann replaced  $s\bar{a}$  generally except in Ic, mostly in the form pænn|penn>den (n. thet>det). Its use was limited to the position before adj., except in some Da and Sw literary imitations of MLG usage, e.g. de Romere|the Romare the Romans, then jomfrw the maiden (MLG de juncfrou). The preposed art. and the adj. (obligatorily weak in form) formed a unit which could function as a noun phrase (de gamle the old, i.e. people).

The suffixed art., on the other hand, could only be added to nouns (contrary, e.g., to Romanian, where one can have bunul om the good man as well as omul bun). CSc suffixation reflected the preservation of the dem. pron. in postnominal position longer than in WGmc (except in WJy SJy where the WGmc principle prevailed and them > x). The duality of the def. art. in Sc raised problems in constructions

with both adj. and noun, where there was room for both articles, or with dem. pron. and noun, where definiteness was already expressed by the first art. or pron. Redundant def. art. appear in the fifteenth century, e.g. then steinen that stone (DN 5. 957, 1492). Such emphatic and redundant expressions became the rule in Nw and Sw, occasional in Ic and Fa, but rejected in Da; hence Nw Sw den gamle|gamla mannen vs. Da den gamle mand the old man (Map 21). This 'double definite' was renamed overbestemthet, i.e. 'hyperdefiniteness' in a study of its history (Lundeby 1965). With ordinals and superlatives it was common to delete the preposed art., leaving an adj. in def. form with a noun in def. form: Sw första gången the first time, nästa dagen the next day. This construction was especially popular in Sw, but occurred also in Ic: elzta systirin the eldest sister.

The reduction of the case forms and the attachment of the article to the base form of the noun led also to invariable forms of the art., as we have seen. Most dialects adopted a pattern of Noun Base± Plural±Article±Possessive. The existence of strong and weak bases (the latter ending in vowels) and several different pl. suffixes led to complex patterns of def. art. inflection, usually in a four-member scheme:

	Sg. base	Sg. base+art.	Sg. base+pl.	Sg. base+pl.+art.
m.	-Ø/ <u>^</u> e	$-en(n)/\frac{1}{n}en(n)$	<u>^</u> ar  <u>^</u> er	$\frac{1}{2}arnir > \frac{1}{2}arne > \frac{1}{2}ane > \frac{1}{2}an$
f.	-Ø/ <u>`</u> a	$-i(n)/\Delta a(n)$	$\Delta er/\Delta ar/\Delta or$	$\frac{1}{2}irnar > \frac{1}{2}erna > \frac{1}{2}ena > \frac{1}{2}en$
n.	-Ø/ <u>^</u> a/ <u>^</u> e	$-e(t)/\dot{a}(t)/\dot{e}(t)$	-Ø/2e/2a	-in > -en > -an > -a > -a/-x/ -e/-i

For other details see the preceding section; the grave accents mark the forms that automatically alter a monosyllabic base to Accent 2, e.g. HedmNw m. and pl. def. hws't-a the horses: f. sg. strong def. ris't-a the instep.

The indef. art. developed in late OSc times from the numeral einn one (f. ein, n. eitt) in the meaning of 'a certain one', synonymous with nokkurR, einhwerR, which are still in use in many dialects. The shift in meaning from '(a certain) one' to 'a' was (like the parallel shift of Lat unus to Fr un, OE ān to Eng a) so gradual that some of the early examples are arguable (Lejström 1934). They began appearing in the thirteenth century, but did not become common and obligatory until

much later; there were none in the Da laws, but by 1450 texts showed some ten percent of the nouns with an indef. art., a percentage that has not greatly increased since. Early examples are mostly found in writings that were translated or were under strong MLG influence: ONw Hann hevir einn siðan hott He has a low-brimmed hat (Piðriks saga, tr. about 1300; as Hægstad [VM 1936: 117] points out, the Ic version lacks einn); OSw En sädhisman vtgick at saa A sower went out to sow (MB 1, c. 1340). The fact that Ic (and to some extent Fa) did not adopt this usage suggests that its spread was stimulated from abroad, where the Romance and the WGmc languages had gone through a similar development. Since the art. was unstressed, its form was often shortened, even in areas where its fuller form continued to exist in the sense of 'one': en m. ei/e f. et/e n. Its meaning generally precluded a pl., but in the sense of 'some' it does occur in Sw (ena) and some Nw dialects (eine), from CSc einiR (IcFa einir).

The growth of forms marked by either def. or indef. art. left a large residue, different in different dialects, of idiomatic and special uses of the unmarked noun. Proverbs are often unmarked: Nw Liten tue velter stort lass (a) small tussock can tip (a) big load. Nouns whose sense makes them determinate often lack the def. art., e.g. far father, mor mother, and most proper names. Group identity (in predicate position) is often unmarked: Nw Han er nordmann He is (a) Norwegian; mass nouns: Sw dricka öl drink beer; abstractions: Da stor lærdom great learning. Phrases exist like på land on land (but in productive usage: på landet in the country). The rules for non-use of the articles are a patchwork of conservative and innovative traits.

Pronouns (in their adjectival uses) continued to mark def. and indef. determination in the classes usually known as demonstratives and indefinites respectively. Only one change will be listed here: pessi replaced sjā this in the forms denne m. f., dette n., disse/dessa pl. etc. But in the spoken dialects it was usually replaced (outside EDa and GöSw) by den her/här (and den der/där), lit. 'this here' and 'that there'.

## (5) Comparison (pos., comp., superl.)

11.4.10. There were no significant changes in the form or use of comp. and superl. from CSc to the present. One reason for this is no doubt that these were not inflections, but derivations, formed from the roots of adj. and adv. by suffixing Gmc -iz-, -er-/-ar-, or -ōz-

to form the comp. and adding -ta- to form the superl. (Br-N GG 4. 116-22). To these were then added the appropriate adj. (or adv.) inflections, comp. always weak, superl. either weak or strong. These developed as in other adj. The comp. conj. in CSc was en (Gmc pana > an > en) and so remained (Ic en/Fa Nw enn/Sw  $\ddot{a}n/Da$  end); an older usage with the dat. found occasionally in idiomatic or poetic OSc disappeared (hwerjum manni sterkari stronger than every man > sterkari en hverr maðr) in MSc, aside from Ic.

The first two suffixes were applied to a closed, but frequent group of words: (a) -iz- to ungR young (CSc ungiR- > yngRi younger), bat- good, as in bati advantage (CSc batiR- > betRi better), adv. like lang- far (CSc langiR-> leng R farther, langist-> lengst farthest), etc. (b) -er-/-ar- to locatives, giving comp. form with (often) pos. meaning: fyrri former, innri inner, nibri down, sībr late, vinstri left. Some of these developed new comp. and superl. forms with the productive suffix -oz- or by adding meiri more (mest R most) as in Eng furthermore or innermost: innarr, innastR; neparr, nepastR; siparr, sīpastR; Da nærmere nearer, nærmest nearest (from the comp. of nā, i.e. nær near); OSw fjärmer farther (> Sw fjärmare) (from fjarri, comp. of Gmc fer, IE per-); OSw sīþarmēra later (> Sw sedermera) (from sībar- later). Beside betRi there were others that had no adj. or adv. positive form and functioned suppletively, e.g. eldRi older to gamall old, heldR rather to giarna gladly. The only productive suffix, which absorbed new words and spread to some old ones, was -ōz-(CSc -aR-), in adj. like breipaRi broader, breipastR broadest and adv. like optaR oftener, optast oftenest.

Adverbial meirr and mest were used in OSc with part. which could not take the suffixes -ar-, -ast- (meirr lagõr more liable). This usage was maintained and greatly expanded in later Sc usage, applying to many loanwords as well (Nw Sw mer praktisk more practical; Sw mer bildad/Da DN mere dannet more cultured).

11.4.11. The speaker as 1. p. and the addressee as 2. p. are the basic necessities of a communication situation, plus the 3. p. as the 'outsider', the one about whom (or which) the others speak. The pers. pron. of CSc were mostly of different roots and formed a complex suppletive paradigm. Person was primarily marked by verbal suffixes, with the pron. as emphatic or clarifying elements. The trend was

toward reducing reliance on the suffixes and making the more explicit pronouns obligatory. This was most striking in the case of 'impersonal' verbs, which were common in OSc, but were gradually supplied with an explicit subject, the 3. p. n. pron. *pat* it. With the loss of person in the verb the category was entirely concentrated in the pron.

Special formal features of the CSc pers. pron. were (a) the marking of dual number in the 1. and 2. persons and (b) the non-marking of gender in the 1. and 2. p. In the following table we list only the nom. forms of the pron.:

Pronouns	1. p. sg.	2. p. sg.	3. p. sg.			1. p. pl.		2. p. pl.		3. p. pl.
			m.	f.	n.	dual	pl.	dual	pl.	m.
Nom.	ek/jak	þū	hann	hōn	þat	wit	wēR/wīR	(þ)it	(þ)ēR/īR	þei R
VERBS					<u>'                                      </u>					
Pres. Str.	-10	- <sup>4</sup> R	-iR							
Pres. Wk.	-a/-i	-aR/-R	-aR/-iR			-um		-ip		-a
Pret. Str.	-Ø	-t	-Ø							
Pret. Wk.	-a	-iR	-i			-um		-up		-11

(a) New sandhi forms. The frequent occurrence of the pronouns in enclitic position after verbs led to the rise of new pron. forms in the 1. and 2. p. pl. By false division such sentences as komib it or komib  $\bar{e}R$ you come (question, statement, command) led to the forms bit dual and  $b\bar{e}R$  pl. in WSc, making them also analogous to  $b\bar{u}$  and beiR in having initial b-. The same process led in ONw and OFa to new oblique forms of ykkR dual and ykR (ikR) pl. in the fifteenth century: \*bykkr and byðr (biðr) (Austfold 1420). From these developed the Nw dialect forms dykk (dokker by analogy with okker obl. of wit) and dør (biðr > dere), Fa tykkum you obl. and tygum you polite (honorific). In ONw the same process produced new forms of the 1. p. pl. nom.: komum wit  $(w\bar{e}r) > komum mit (m\bar{e}r) > komu mit (m\bar{e}r)$  we come. The forms mit/mer appeared in ONw soon after 1200 beside the older forms in w-; between 1300 and 1350 they gradually gained ground and were dominant from 1350 to 1400 (Tylden 1944). After that they lost out to the new form vi, which dominated in the MSS after 1475. In the Nw dialects mē (mī) is usual from Härj and Jämt (now Sw) to WNw and MidNw, except for (a) replacement by oss, the acc.-dat. form, in an area around Dovrefiell (STNw NGbNw NSmNw); (b) replacement by vi (ve) in NWNw coastal TNw ENw. The origin of vi is disputed (probably because it has become a language political issue): it may have developed by phonological change in enclitic position, parallel to di you (from  $pi\delta$ ) and by analogy with that form (Seip 1956); or by borrowing from Sw and Da (where wiR > vi) (Tylden 1944, 1956). The fact that the ENw extension of vi exactly coincides with that of je (from jak) suggests that at least in this area the neighborhood with Sw and Da was influential (in speech even before the written influences).

- (b) Loss of the dual. ODa sources show no traces of the dual, but early OSw ones do. In ONw the dual survived into MNw, but the functions of dual and pl. were not always clearly distinct: confusion is apparent by 1360 to 1370. In OIc they were still distinguished in the fifteenth century (þórólfsson 1925: 41). Seip (1956) regarded the merger as phonological, resulting from the loss of final consonant; but this would not explain the merger in Ic, where the consonants were retained. Tylden (1956) speculated on the gradual disappearance of dual in IE as evidence of social change from a 'primitive' face-toface society to one of greater mobility. In Ic as in Fa and most Nw dialects the dual absorbed the pl. functions. In Ic bið (obl. ykkur) and in Fa tit (obl. tykkum) are now the usual pl. In Nw it is hard to be sure if forms like  $m\bar{e}$  we and  $d\bar{e}$  you are from  $mi\bar{o}$  and  $bi\bar{o}$  or  $m\bar{e}r$  and  $b\bar{e}r$ , but the oblique forms okko(n)/okke(r) us (SWNw MidNw) and dikko(n)/dokke(r)/dykk you (widespread) reflect the dominance of the dual (see map in Christiansen 1946-8: 213).
- (c) Honorific address. It was already well established in OSc court circles that persons of prominence and power should be addressed in the pl., as if they were more than one. The Nw King's Mirror (c. 1250) has an oft-quoted didactic passage (text above, 10.7 Bg) in which a father explains to his aspiring son why he must never forget to address the king in this way. The reason is, says the father, that the ruler is responsible for all his subjects and is advised by many councillors, so that he speaks with the voices of many men. Hence he speaks (as an official) as  $v\bar{e}r$  we and is addressed as  $p\bar{e}r$  you pl. That this applied to others also is exemplified by the fact that the father addresses his son as  $p\bar{u}$ , but the son replies with  $p\bar{e}r$ . When the son not unnaturally wonders why God, greatest ruler of all, is addressed as  $p\bar{u}$ , the father piously replies that the plural might lead some to think that there was more than one God, which would be heresy! The deeper reasons are of course associated with a tradition of formal

discourse to mark the humble position of the speaker, going back to the Roman emperors and spread throughout Europe. In ODa the use of the 2. p. pl. (ESc  $\bar{\imath}R > \bar{\imath}$ ) is first recorded in Mariaklagen (c. 1325); it was common in the rhymed chronicles (fonfrw, i sparæ edhræ finghræ smaa Maiden, spare your fingers small). In the OSw Erikskrönikan (verses 362 ff.) from the fifteenth century the ruler Birger Jarl addresses his wife as tw, while she replies with i (poss. idra). The corresponding use of the 1. p. pl. as a pluralis majestatis was also well known and a regular feature of official documents, but there is less evidence of its occurrence in speech. The Poetic Edda and the OIc sagas show clearly that the use of honorifics was a courtly custom introduced after Christianity; even much later Sc yeomen did not hesitate to address their kings in the 2. p. sg.

(d) Verb forms. Special forms for the 1. p. sg. were lost in OSc (10.5.11), but the 1. p. pl. persisted into MSc and later. Forms like giorum used as imperatives ('let us do') existed in late ODa, when the regular 1. p. pl. had become -æ except in Sk, where traces persisted to the present (vi binnem, I binne, de binna we, you, they bind NSk BoDa). Biblical Sw alternated between -om and -e, MNw between -om and -a (Bergen 1398).

The 2. p. sg. was marked in the pret. sg. of strong verbs and the pres. of preterite-present verbs by the special NGmc (and Go) -t. This proved to be a persistent form, though commonly replaced by -st in the strong verbs (from stems in -t, where -tt > -st). Examples were ODa gikt/gikst went, skalt/skalst shalt, ert/est art; these are still used occasionally as archaisms, e.g. in Ibsen's Peer Gynt: Af jord est du kommen Of earth art thou come. They also have survived in some dialects: BoDa SJyDa. The 2. p. pl. -ip (pret. -up) was replaced in OSw by -in (> -en), and ONw by -ir (> -er) (10.5.12). They persisted in writing into early MdSc, but were replaced in speech much earlier by the 3. p. pl. -a (> -x/-e) (vitx you know Bergen 1435). The 3. p. sg. thus prevailed in the sg., and the 3. p. pl. in the pl., thereby eliminating personal inflection in the verbs. (For a phonological explanation see Neuman 1925.)

### (7) Tense (pres., pret.)

11.4.12. The Gmc pres. and pret. tense forms were transmitted virtually without change into CSc and preserved down to the present

time. The strong (ablaut) verbs remained as a class, but they had some tendency to lose members to the weak (-p- suffix), which became the productive paradigm into which virtually all new words entered.

Some typical changes, most widespread in the innovating dialects like Da, were: (a) Strong verbs, especially reduplicating ones, became weak, e.g. CSc  $b\bar{i}ba$  beið wait  $> b\bar{i}da$  bidde, døyja d $\bar{o}$  die  $> d\bar{o}$  d $\bar{o}$ th $\bar{w}$ , swømme swam swim > søme sømede, būa biō live > bō bōdhe, leika  $l\bar{e}k$  play  $> l\bar{e}ge$   $l\bar{e}kthx$ . (b) 2. and 3. class weak verbs joined the 1.  $(-\delta n)$  class, which had the most regular paradigm (CSc -a, pres. -aR, pret. -abi, pp. -abR), e.g. syrgja syrgði sorrow > syrgæ syrgædæ, styrkia styrkti strengthen > styrkæ styrkædæ. (c) Vowel alternations were leveled in the jan-class, e.g. bykkja botti think > tyckæ tyctæ,  $s\bar{\theta}kja\ s\bar{o}tti\ seek > s\bar{\theta}gx\ s\bar{\theta}ktx$ . (d) Vowel alternations were leveled in the pres. sg. of strong verbs, sometimes in favor of the umlauted vowel, e.g. Da blæse blow, græde cry from blæs, græt pres. of blasa,  $gr\bar{a}ta$ ;  $\bar{e}gha$  own, pres.  $\bar{a} > \bar{e}ghe$ ,  $\bar{e}gher$ . (e) -er was transferred from the pres. of weak verbs to that of strong, e.g. bx bears > bx goes > farer, frys freezes > fryser (CSc berr, ferr, fryss). (f) -te (-de) was added to pret. forms by analogy, e.g. wissi knew > wiste, fordhe  $led > f\bar{\theta}rthe > f\bar{\theta}rte$ , kendi knew > kxente, bjonaði  $> ti\bar{x}nte$ , etc. Similar trends were apparent in Sw and Nw also, but they did not always affect the same words.

In general the traditional paradigms were maintained, in spite of the considerable number of irregular alternations which they entailed. Loanwords and other innovations generally entered the first weak verb class (-on), e.g. Da befalede ordered, snackede talked (from MLG). Today nearly ninety percent of the uncompounded verbs of Da belong to this class (Skautrup 2. 54). But in Sw and Nw a new weak verb class (known in Sw as the 'third conjugation') arose, in which older  $-\delta - > -dd$ : its members were verbs with stem-final vowel, e.g.  $tr\tilde{o}$ believe,  $b\bar{o}$  dwell,  $s\bar{a}$  sow  $(tr\bar{o}dhi/tr\bar{u}\bar{o}i$  believed > trodde/trudde). In Da these remained part of the 1. class: troede, boede etc. As shown by V. Jansson (1948), the basis of this class was the weak verbs with stem-final  $-\tilde{\partial}$ , e.g.  $f\bar{\theta}\partial a$  give birth,  $kl\bar{x}\partial a$  clothe, whose  $-\tilde{\partial}\partial$ - in the pret. > -dd. With the common loss of medial  $-\bar{\partial}$ - in the inf. and pres., an alternation arose with  $-\emptyset$ -:-dd-, which could then be analogically introduced in the verbs with stem-final vowel. Seip (NSpr 323; 1930; 234 ff.) and Wessén (Sspr 1. 148) have suggested as a contributing factor a 'differentiation' or 'sharpening' designed to

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maintain a clearly marked suffix in a position where the phonological development threatened its survival.

Each tense had multiple functions, e.g. the pres. as the unmarked form could be used as a past (historical pres.), a timeless present, or a future (with appropriate specification). For more precise time reference complex tense forms came into being by the junction of auxiliary verbs with non-finite verb forms such as the inf. and the participles. Those which can be considered part of the tense system were the pres. perf. (hafa|vera+perf. part./supine), past perf. (hafði|var+perf. part./supine), future (munu|skulu|vilja+inf.), and future perf. (munu|skulu|vilja+inf.) of hafa|vera+perf. part./supine).

Since all of these occurred throughout the known history of Sc, we need only point out here some changes of detail.

- (a) Older texts often used pret. where later ones adopted complex tenses, e.g. Det i giorde en aff mine minste, det giorde i mig (NT 1529, Matt. 25: 40) What you did (King James: have done) to one of my least, that you did (K. J.: have done) to me; Han syrde fordy han slo kuning Oly i hiæl (Eriks krönike, c. 1400) He grieved because he [had] killed King Oly.
- (b) The perf. tense was originally a statement of result, as in the Sw runic inscription: Stæin hafiR rettan (He) has erected (acc. sg. m.) (a) stone (Vs 15), with agreement between the perf. part. and the object, lit. 'He has a stone (that is) erected.' There soon developed an invariable n. form of the participle (in -t), usually referred to (especially in Sw) as the 'supine', with the auxiliary hafa. In this form the emphasis was on action in the past, as related to the speaker's present (result, persistence, attitude, etc.). Verbs of changing condition (like verða become, blive become, fara go, koma come) expressed a similar tense relation by means of the auxiliary vera and the inflected perf. part.: hon er farin she has (i.e. 'is') left. This distinction is still alive in Da (and to some extent in DN and NN), but is lost in Sw, which uses ha(va) with all verbs. (Of course, vera, Sw vara, is used when the participle is adjectival and therefore inflected, at least in Sw and NN, while in Da and DN it is invariably n. in most verbs.) The same verbs (called 'mutative' by T. Johannisson 1945) could also take the auxiliary hafa if the semantic reference was to the action rather than the result (and then with the supine form of the part.): ON Gunnarr hafði farit heiman Gunnar had left home (Njála 119: 1, cit. T. Johannisson 1945: 69). The function of the perf. in

Sc has generally remained more like that of Eng, without the shift to a specified past as in Ger, e.g. DN Jeg var (not har vært) i Aten i fjor I was in Athens last year, but Jeg har vært (not er) i Aten siden i fjor I have been in Athens since last year.

- (c) Future time has no special expression, but is implied by certain uses of the pres. or by the modal aux. of will and intention. In OSc munu (pres. man) was common, but was gradually replaced by skulu (pres. skal) except in Ic; compare the OIc prediction of the world's end Bröpr munu berjask Brothers will fight (Voluspá 45) with the Sw runic Jorð skal rifna Earth will crack (Sö 159). Munu survived as archaic or idiomatic usage in the forms Da DN mon, monne, Sw månde. Literary attempts to introduce verða for the future in imitation of Ger werden failed to catch on (Wessén Sspr 3. 126).
- (d) Trends towards a use of vera+pres. part. were apparent in late medieval MSS influenced by foreign models: Nu är utländingär pär boandi Now a foreigner is living there (Ögl). These did not develop into the kind of aspectual forms so characteristic of modern Eng; the pres. part. remained strictly adjectival or adverbial.
- (e) In Ic alone there developed a set of novel complex tenses for which there were no precise models in any Gmc language. They are strictly aspectual rather than temporal and have been attributed to Irish influence: a durative with  $vera+a\delta+\inf$  (Ég er  $a\delta$  lesa I am reading), an inchoative with  $fara+a\delta+\inf$  (Ég fer  $a\delta$  sofa I am going to sleep), a perfective with vera bûinn $+a\delta+\inf$  (Ég er bûinn  $a\delta$  borða I am through eating, I have eaten).

## (8) Mode (imp., subj., indic.)

- 11.4.13. We will combine under this term various ways of describing the speaker's relation to his statement, esp. the inflections known as imp., subj., and indic., and the modal auxiliaries (mega, skulu, munu, vilja, kunna, etc.).
- (a) The imperative. The only special imp. form was the 2. p. sg. with -a in on-verbs,  $-\emptyset$  elsewhere; the 1. p. pl. and 2. p. pl. indic. were also used imperatively, e.g. kasta throw! sg., kom come! sg.; kostum, komum let's throw, come; kastip, komip (you pl.) throw, come! ODa preserved -e (from -a) in the on-verbs and some special 2. p. sg. forms like gak go! (gang > gank > gakk). Biblical Da replaced -um with  $-\infty$ /-e, -ip with -er, and eliminated the -e of the sg., e.g. brug use! for bruge and dræpær kill! for drepip. From c. 1450 the

suffix -er also developed in OSw and became normal in the Bible, e.g. Tagher, äter, dricker Take (ye), eat, drink. The 1. p. pl. -um survived in archaic Sw down to modern times (a student song by G. Wennerberg begins Sjungom studentens lyckliga dag Let us sing to the student's happy day). The imp. may be replaced by the more explicit modals: du skal/skall you shall; du må/måste you must, etc.

- (b) The subjunctive (optative). The CSc subj. suffixes were the same in the pres. and pret.: Sg. 1. p. -a, 2. p. -ir, 3. p. -i; Pl. 1. p. -im, 2. p. -ib, 3. p. -i. Added to the pres. stem these made a pres. subj., to the pret. stem (plus umlaut of the stem vowel when possible) they made a pret. subj. The system was greatly reduced in ESc: ODa had -x/-e in all persons, OSw -i/-e in the sg., -um/-om -in -in/-i in the pl. and no stem umlaut, e.g. OSw vore (if it) were vs. OIc væri. The function of the pres. subj. was optative and hortative (Sw Guð hialpi and hans God help his spirit Sö 213), while that of the pret. subj. was unreal or contrary to fact (Da om det hjulpe if it helped NT 1529). The pret. forms were distinctive in the strong verbs, being based on the pl. stems of the pret. indic. While these were still in use in the Sw and Da Bibles, they were gradually replaced by the pret. indic. The MSc forms survived in some Nw and Sw dialects (Aasen 1864, par. 235). The pres. subj. survived almost entirely in idiomatic phrases, chiefly wishes and oaths, with the suffix -e (Fa -i) in all persons. Leveling of the paradigm began in ONw in the thirteenth century. By 1300 it had begun in OIc, but only in the sg., where -a was replaced by -i so that all three persons had the same vowel: fari, farir, fari, pret. færi, færir, færi. In the pl. Ic replaced the old suffixes by forms more like those of the indic.: pres. förum, farið, fari; pret. færum, færuð, færu. The Ic change was not fully completed even by 1500 (J. Þorkelsson 1887).
- (c) Auxiliaries. The modals (most of which were preterite-presents in origin) competed with the subj. and the imp. in expressing wishes and orders, as in this example from the OSw laws: Uiliæ bøndær by aff nyu byggiæ... pa skal hwar sinä träpu sa, ok sipän gangi ny skipt a If the farmers wish to build their village anew... then each shall sow his field and then step (subj.) off a new section (UL, cited by Wessén Sspr 3. 135). The modals gained at the expense of the subj., as being the more explicit. A new modal was added in MSw by borrowing from MLG: måste must; the CSc impersonal byrja be seemly was developed into Da burde/Sw böra ought, possibly by MLG influence.

Da and DN added the meaning 'must' to the older modal mega (pres.  $m\mathring{a}$ , pret.  $m\mathring{a}tte$ , from which a new inf.  $m\mathring{a}tte$  was developed). Some of the older modals were lost in mainland Sc, e.g. eiga must (retained as 'own'), munu will (above), verpa have to (retained as 'become' in NN), in part purfa need (NN turva, in Da and Sw confused with pora dare, see Björkstam 1919). Most modals are construed with the inf., some with at (Ic  $a\eth$ ) and the inf., a few  $(f\mathring{a}, Ic geta)$  with the perf. part. (supine). The meaning range of each modal changed greatly over time.

# (9) Diathesis (act., pass., refl.)

11.4.14. The various ways in which the performer of an action (the actor) can be related to the goal of his action by grammatical devices are known as active, passive and reflexive. Active: the actor if any is subject of the verb, nom. in CSc, the verb is active in form, the goal if any is in an oblique case. Passive: the goal is the subject, the verb is mediopassive or is split into an auxiliary (vera/verba)+perf. part. (with passive sense), the actor if any is added as a complement (prep. phrase). Reflexive: like the active, except that the actor and the goal are identical, and the verb is either mediopassive, or active with a reflexive pron. object.

The CSc mediopassive (9.4.4) began as an enclitic derived from the reflexive pron., but developed special meanings that were not reflexive (as did the Gmc mediopassive, cf Gothic). As a suffix (-st WSc JyDa, -s ESc) added to the active forms, it could have reflexive, reciprocal, medial, active or passive meanings. In most of these it competed with other devices, some more explicit: OSw klædhas was synonymous with klædha sik clothe oneself, get dressed, but was later limited to a passive sense 'be dressed' (by someone else), which in turn could also be expressed otherwise by varda klædd (or after 1400) by bliva klædd (klätt). The mediopassive remained in active but limited use, e.g. to express durative or inchoative action (Sw Det våras It is becoming spring, *Det grönas* Things are turning green), especially if there is no personal subject (DN *Det høres ikke en lyd* Not a sound is heard; Det fortelles It is said). Its use as a true passive was common in Latin-influenced biblical Sw (and Da), e.g. [Jesus] frestadhes aff dieffullen [Jesus] was tempted by the devil, but would now be replaced by auxiliary+perf. part. blev frestad. In the dialects the mediopassive was well preserved in the basic senses listed earlier (Holm 1952).

The mediopassive also competed with the refl. pron., which took over most of the refl. uses. In the 1. and 2. p. sg. the refl. pron. was identical with the acc. or dat. of the pers. pron., but in the 3. p. there was a special form sik (dat. sēR, gen. sīn). This referred back to the subject of the clause, except that in subordinate clauses it could sometimes refer back to the subject of the main clause. In the sg. the 3. p. refl. pron. was in general use in all dialects (except JyDa). In MDa it was replaced by the 3. p. pers. pron., e.g. The hioldo thom illa They kept themselves badly (Sj. Trost c. 1425, cit. Br-N GG 5. 33), cf the Sw original: The huldo sik illa. The Da Bible showed great vacillation, as the Da dialects (incl. SSk) still do, but standard Da established sik (i.e. sig) in the pl. However, in the possessive refl. sin Da took the opposite course, deviating from the other Sc languages by adopting deres their (older thera > theras) in the fifteenth century: De tog deres boger They took their books (DN De tok sine boker).

Verbs without formal subjects ('impersonal verbs') developed explicit pronominal (or adverbial) subjects during this period. From 1400 thet it (or ther there) was often inserted in revisions of older texts, e.g. in the 1472 edition of the Jutland Law (AM 17, 8°): Tha stær thæm for fullæ > Tha stær thæt thæm for fullæ then (it) stands to them in full; Æn ær æi meræ æn een sun > Æn ær ther æi . . . If (there) is no more than one son. In the Sw Bible a formal subject was still optional: daghas vs. thet daghas it dawns, regnar vs. thet regnar it rains (Wessén Sspr 3. 196). Verbs of sensation were construed with logical subjects in the dat. or acc., as still in Ic: mig langar I wish ('me longs'), mér finnst I think ('to me is found'). Except as archaisms (like Eng methinks) these did not persist in mainland Sc after 1500: Sw Bible migh törster I thirst has become jag torstar, Da ballad drømde mik en drøm I dreamt a dream has become jeg drømte en drøm. In some idioms the old dat. of reference has remained, while the verb has been supplied with a neuter subject, e.g. det angrer mig/det ångrar mig (but also jeg angrer/jag ångrar (mig)) I regret ('it regrets to me'); det lyktes ham/det lyckades honom he succeeded ('it succeeded for him'), but also han lyktes/lyckades (A. Lindqvist 1912).

# (10) Conjunction (coord., subord.)

**11.4.15.** Coordination of clauses without conj. or with simple coordinating conj. like ok and, en but,  $e\tilde{o}a$  or was characteristic of the OSc documents (laws, sagas). Subordination was kept simple, with

nominal clauses introduced by at that, adjectival (relative) clauses by the particles er or sem, and adverbial clauses by various adverbs or adverbial conjunctions marking time (ba then, begar when), place (bar there), etc. There were also indirect questions introduced by interrogatives like hwerr/hwā who (ever), hwapan from where, etc. At-clauses could be governed by prep. which often become conj. later by dropping the at, e.g. ODa for thy at because, for utæn at unless, i that at in that, tho at although, after at after, etc. Loss of at was common in the fifteenth century: æftær han komær hem after he comes home (JyL). The LG conj. wes whose was borrowed as hwes and developed the new meaning 'if' (spelled hvis). In ODa and OSw the CSc relative particle er/es was replaced by the  $ext{wr}$  (> der), but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sum/som became more common. The development of a relative particle was connected with the fixing of word order, since a particle was necessary to mark the subject when the verb could no longer be postponed to the end (S. Gustavson 1950: I. 112), e.g. pän sum leghir af bondä häst (Vgl I 41: 9) he who hires a horse from a farmer. But neither er/es nor sum were properly rel. pron., and in the OSc period efforts were made to introduce one in imitation of Lat and Ger models (Br-N GG 5. 367). This was the interrog. pron. hwilikR (einn) which (> OSc hvilken), which had the advantage that it could be used as an object and could be declined: OSw (1404) een sandh israels man, i hwicken ey er swigh a true man of Israel, in whom (which) there is no deceit (Lindblad 1943). While hvilken never caught on in speech, it did form part of written Sw Da DN into the modern period. Another literary loan was Ger obschon, imported and adapted as om end skjont although, from which Da has derived skont, DN skjont, Sw änskönt, all meaning 'though'.

The formal embedding of subordinate clauses led to various transformations of the clauses themselves, e.g. deletions, changes in tense or mood and reorderings. One that appears to have developed in MSc under LG influence was the insertion between subject and verb of negative and temporal–spatial adverbs, i.e. simple adverbs primarily modifying the whole sentence. The normal place for such negatives in CSc was after the finite verb:  $P\bar{u}$  skalt eigi ganga You shall not go. The innovation was that when the clause was subordinated, the eigi preceded skalt, e.g. Jak vil at pu ey skalt ganga I wish that . . . This order had infinitesimal frequency in the ODa laws, but

by Queen Margaret's time about twenty-eight percent of the instances were so ordered and by 1500 forty-one percent, according to C. Larsson (1931). It did not reach Fa or Ic or all continental dialects (e.g. DalSw Ig i rädd an kumb inte I am afraid he (will) not come Levander 1909: 122 ff.) and was not firmly established until the modern period. In short clauses other adj. and adv. or nouns could precede the verb (sem satt var as was true, ef svo er if that is so), but imitations of the Ger clause-final position for the verb never succeeded in establishing this rule in Sc (Åkerlund 1943).

#### (11) Word Order (normal, inverted)

**11.4.16.** In declarative, unemphatic sentences the order of elements in a CSc sentence had developed into subject-verb-object (SVO) as normal, though inversions of SV > VS were common in lively narrative or contrasting sequences. In MSc inversion was limited to (a) yes-no questions, (b) conditional clauses without a conjunction, (c) imperative sentences, and (d) sentences with initial modifiers (object, pred. noun or adj., adv. or subord. clause). The V was in first or second position, never in third (e.g. SOV). In the previous section we showed how this rule was broken by a development in MSc which permitted certain adverbs to postpone the V to third position.

Some of the typical word order changes within constructions in the MSc period involved a reduction of free to fixed orders. (a) Noun modifiers in CSc could either precede or follow the noun, but they now tended to precede. Titles had usually followed, but under MLG influence they were reordered in front: Olafr konungr > konung Olawer King Olav, Hākon jarl > jarl Hākon Earl Hakon, Jon biskupr > biskop Jon Bishop Jon. Genitival, adjectival and demonstrative modifiers had either preceded or followed; now they more commonly preceded: Fabir Ulfs > Ulfs fabir Ulf's father; sonr Bjarnar > Bjarnar sonr the son of Bjorn (and hence the many son names: Bjarnason, etc.); hūs it mikla > it mikla hūs the large house; land petta > petta land this land. (b) Dat. and acc. objects of the same verb could occur in any order so long as they were clearly marked. But with the decay of inflections they either had to fix the order or mark the dat. relationship by a preposition; so Gialdi tolf öræ biscupi pay the bishop twelve öræ (VgL I) had to become either Betala tolv öre till biskopen or Betala biskopen tolv öre. (c) Subjects in optative clauses could either precede or follow their verbs, as in the runic inscriptions Hialpi Guð/hialpi and hans, but MdSw Gud hjälpe hans ande. (d) Separable adverbs which formed complex predicates could either precede or follow their objects, e.g. Smalamaðr kastar hofðinu niðr (The) herder throws the head down (Njála 45) vs. kasta niðr því reject that (Grettlssaga 140). In Da and SSw dialects they usually follow, in Sw precede: SSw Jag har brutit den av vs. Sw Jag har brutit av den I have broken it off.

grammatical change, in which the expression of the chief categories shifted over from an inflectional to a syntactic form. Mostly this involved no more than a choice among alternatives already available, ē.g. between case inflections and prepositions, or among different word orders. The categories themselves were fairly constant, and in high-frequency words even such complex alternations as the umlaut plurals or ablaut preterites did not disappear. The trend was toward replacing complex morphemes with explicit form words in a fixed order. The rapidity of the change may be more apparent than real, due to the conservatism of writing traditions and their disruption by the sociopolitical changes of the period. Even so, there can be little doubt that contact with other languages, especially MLG, but also Latin, was a triggering factor. The farther a region was from traffic with the Hansa, the less deeply the old structure was affected.

rr.5 Lexicon: The Impact of MLG. During this period the MLG influence on Sc became more apparent than earlier and reached its climax in the century before the Reformation. To a very high degree this influence reflected the cultural innovations brought to the Scandinavian countries by their neighbors to the south. New words came with new ideas, which required a more nuanced and complex expression. We have observed the process whereby Christianity was diffused into the Sc lexicon in order to enable speakers to grapple with its new ideas. Such cultural borrowing is part of the learning process that developing nations must go through. But the MLG impact on Sc went far beyond the adoption or creation of terms for novel ideas. It included many that were redundant replacements of native terms and that some students of the subject have therefore called 'unnecessary loans'. There is no really objective criterion for a 'necessary' loan, since the loan can always be replaced by a native creation if

speakers really wish to do so. It is therefore better to think of the process in terms of what Bloomfield (1933: 461–75) called 'intimate borrowing', which he defined as occurring 'when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community'. The result is a borrowing that 'very often extends to speech-forms that are not connected with cultural novelties'. Bloomfield's 'classical instance' of this was the massive influence of Norman-French on English between 1100 and 1350, but he was also thinking of what he had observed among foreign immigrants in the United States (Haugen 1953, 1956). He regarded the MLG influence on Sc as a case of cultural borrowing, but it will be our contention here that it was as much a case of intimate borrowing as the Norman-French influence on English, with which Sc scholars have often compared it.

- dinavia, but they did settle in such numbers that (even, e.g., in Stockholm) they dominated the urban life of these countries (Ahnlund 1929). The average urban speaker in Bergen, Oslo, Copenhagen, Kalmar, Stockholm or Visby could not help learning enough MLG so that he might be tempted to interlard his speech and writings with elements from the new, prestigious tongue. Like the upper-class Englishman of 1300 he was moderately bilingual, and he submitted to a mild creolization of his language. Only so can we account for the massive adoption of replacements for native terms (that are still in daily use in Ic), new form words like men but, blive become, Sw måste must (for older en, verða, mā), the merger of inflections and the new analytic syntax. In the judicious words of T. Johannisson (1968: 615) in a valuable survey of the topic: 'Der niederdeutsche Einfluss berührt in der Tat fast jede Seite der skandinavischen Sprachen.'
- 11.5.2. Various scholars have shown some disagreement on the exact nature of the contact between LG and Sc speakers and the kind of contact language that could lead to the known result. Tegnér (1889) thought of it as a 'mixed language' primarily used in writing by social leaders during the Union; the similarity of the effects in Da and Sw he attributed to transmission into Sw via Da. W. Cederschiöld (1913: 107) contrariwise thought of it as a rotvälska 'lingo, mishmash' used in speaking by persons with little knowledge of the languages, primarily the LG merchants and craftsmen who were then imitated by their Sw colleagues. Seip (1924: 472 ff.) denied that many Scandinavians learned LG, but contended that the similarity of the languages

made communication possible simply by adopting a few words from the other one. Wessén on the other hand (1929: 268) held that in old Stockholm nearly all were bilingual and 'constantly mixed the languages with another'. The loss of inflections he attributed to the inability of the LG immigrants to learn Sw correctly (1929: 272). Hellquist (1929–32: 567) believed that Sw would soon have become a kind of LG if Sweden had not regained her independence under Gustavus Vasa.

Höfler (1931, 1932) applied the theories of Schuchardt and Windisch (1897) concerning language contact and mixture to deny that communication between LG and Sc speakers had gone on in any kind of formless Rotwelsch or Notsprache, what we might call a pidgin. He reasoned that under such conditions the arbitrary and unconscious category of noun gender would have disappeared or would have resulted in chance assignment of gender to the borrowed nouns. He demonstrated that in a proportion far higher than chance the LG genders were reproduced in Sc and tried to show the analogies that had resulted in changes. He also rejected the hypothesis of Da transmission and quite correctly pointed out that the LG influence came by sea from one trading center to the next and was not spread landwise from Jutland northwards (Höfler 1932: 238-9). Törnqvist (1939, 1955) was not convinced by Höfler's gender argument and reverted to the 'mixed language' hypothesis, pointing to the same features as we have mentioned above as characterizing 'intimate borrowing'. He made an important distinction between the 'individual' mixed languages and those mixtures that became 'traditional' (1955: 111), essentially the distinction between parole and langue as drawn by Saussure.

Observation of contemporary situations of language contact has led to greater understanding of the kind of development that must have taken place in the Middle Ages. The term 'mixed language' has generally been given up in favor of more precise terms, which identify various kinds of 'interference' between languages in contact (Weinreich 1953) and various kinds of resulting influence on the norms of these languages, from occasional borrowings to either complete pidginization or disappearance. In the urban centers of Scandinavia the native population was necessarily bilingual, but their actual knowledge of MLG need not have been more than passive for words to be adopted into their speech. Mexican Indians who cannot speak a word

of Spanish have been found to have a large number of Spanish loans in their native languages (Diebold 1961). Far into the sixteenth century MLG was the favorite foreign language of the non-clerical upper and middle classes; the royal families, the nobility, the merchants and the craftsmen were either German or closely allied to Germans. For three centuries MLG was a prestigious second language from which Sc speakers fed their native languages, not always because they needed to, but because it was fashionable to do so. Living in a condition that has been called diglossia (Ferguson 1959), they drew from the High Language (MLG) what they needed to fill out and embellish their own Low Language (Sc), in many cases simply because the speech or writing situation brought a word from the other language first to their minds. It is also well known that one rarely misses an expression in one's own language until one becomes aware that it exists in another. Urban Scandinavians were colonials in a developing society dominated and exploited by the North Germans, and the linguistic results were only what one might expect. Wessén (1954: 45) was no doubt right in emphasizing the great role of MLG in developing Da and Sw into languages of culture, but the counter-example of modern Ic demonstrates that the rapid infiltration of German in mainland Sc simply prevented the more gradual development of native resources in the filling of the same needs. Iceland (as well as most of rural Scandinavia) was not immune to MLG influence, but received it only indirectly and slowly, because of its lack of urban centers and its geographical isolation (Westergård-Nielsen 1946: xxxix).

II.5.3. Estimates of the proportion of MLG words in mainland Sc have been made, running from one half to three-fourths of the vocabulary (Wühren 1954: 458). Such counts are inconclusive, however, and say little about the frequency of the words involved. Perhaps a better measure is the one formulated by Seip (1934b: 25): 'Two Norwegians cannot in our day carry on a conversation of 2-3 minutes without using LG loanwords... of course without knowing that they are doing so.'

One reason for the ready acceptance of MLG words was of course their similarity to native ones, which made the process of adaptation relatively painless (Seip 1915, 1919). By 1350 a regular calculus had no doubt developed for transferring material out of MLG into Sc. Both vowel systems distinguished long and short vowels, and contained the usual five base vowels plus at least two umlaut vowels.

MLG had simplified its Gmc diphthongs as had ESc ( $ei > \bar{e}$ , though  $au > \bar{o}$  in Sc,  $\bar{o}$  in LG). Similar changes were going on, e.g. the lengthening of vowels in open syllables, and the backing and rounding of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\hat{a}$  [5], at least by 1400. Early loans containing  $\bar{a}$  can sometimes be identified as such by having been borrowed before the OSc change and therefore having å (e.g. Da nåde grace, stråle ray), while some later ones were taken over as  $\bar{a}$  and remained so (Da tran cod-liver oil, fare danger, but cf NN fåre). Both LG and Sc were conservative with respect to certain changes that affected HG, e.g. both retained the long high vowels undiphthongized (hūs house, is ice, not Haus, Eis) and the stops unchanged by the HG shift (tid time, not Zeit; sak case, not Sache; op up, not auf, etc.). Where differences did exist they were often so obvious that bilinguals learned to replace the LG words with native equivalents, which now and then led to erratic results. An example (from Tegnér 1889: 157) is the treatment of derivatives of LG recht right some of which had stems in richt, as in richten direct (richtning direction), berichten tell, etc. Wherever LG had recht, Sc replaced it with the native equivalent rett (Sw rätt, Da ret), as in ODa rætfærdug/OSw rættfærdig (MLG rechtverdich just) or ODa rættigheet/OSw rættighet (MLG rechticheit right). When LG had richt, various things happened. MLG richtich correct and uprichtig sincere were taken over according to the sound as riktig and opriktig/Sw uppriktig. But richten and richtning were borrowed as rikta and riktning in Sw only; in Da they were changed to rætte and rætning (now ret-). In both languages richt was replaced by rētt in the series of prefix verbs, although there was no longer any semantic connection between this word and the verb stems: Da berette/Sw berätta tell, forrette/forrätta perform, underrette/underrätta inform, indrette/inrätta arrange, etc. Similarly with the word richte dish, whose meaning was simply added to the native word rētt.

As these examples show, the process of borrowing was not simply one of slavish imitation, but involved also a creative adaptation to the patterns and rules of the native language. A word like Da DN ganske/Sw ganska quite, rather is today an adverb only, except in some fossilized phrases like Da den ganske dag the entire day (A. Hansen 1956b). When it first appeared in Sc sources soon after 1300, it was primarily an adjective as in this phrase (cf Ger der ganze Tag). In OSw it even fell into the pattern of adjectives in -sk to become gansker, neuter ganst (et ganst par kläpä a whole pair of suits),

just like dansker, danst Danish. But contrary to its development in Ger, it did not oust the native term  $h\bar{e}l$  whole, and gradually came to function only adverbially. For this reason it retained the -e that had marked its adjectival weak form and adapted itself to the usual Sc adverbs in -e (Sw -a): Da gerne/Sw gärna gladly, Da ilde/Sw illa badly. For more than a century (1450–1550) its form vacillated between one containing -k- and one without, just like fals false (from Lat falsus). Both forms appear to have existed in LG also, but in the end Sc settled on the form with -k- for both words.

11.5.4. The problem of just how such words come to replace or displace native words can be highly complicated and is still not well understood. A detailed analysis of the borrowing of LG bliven remain and its gradual displacement of Sc verða become has been made by Markey (1969). Most early attestations in Sc correspond to those of MLG in meaning (e.g. i gubz hyllæst bliwæ remain in the grace of God, Hälsingelagen 1330-50). The borrowing of a word for 'remain' is understandable, since CSc vera be was no longer sufficiently precise in rendering the continuative, future sense of Lat manere. In the fifteenth century, however, it became common to use bliva in contrast with vera to refer to the future only, meaning 'become', in which sense it clearly competed with native verða. From here it was only a slight step to using it with perfect participles as a passive auxiliary (like German werden, English be), e.g. ODa blywæ slafnæ are killed, but in the same text wordhæ slafnæ (Rydaarbogen I, c. 1400). By the time of the sixteenth-century Bible translations, bliva was well established in the sense of 'become', and it spread across Denmark into southern Sweden and Norway until it eliminated verða completely south of a line running roughly from Vest-Agder to Gotland (see maps 16 and 17 in Markey 1969). North of this line it also displaced the present stem of verða in most dialects, but the preterite survived as vart, with a hardening of final  $-\delta$  to -t, resulting in a suppletive paradigm of bliva: vart in many dialects (still NN and some Sw). Among the questions raised are: (1) The extent to which the meaning 'become' (with or without participles) existed in the model language (as Markey contends, following Björkman and Hellquist) or was a Sc development (Falk and Torp 1910-11); this is still uncertain. (2) The reasons for the rapid spread of this meaning into the area dominated by verða: the pernicious homonymy with vera (once ð was lost after r) was certainly a factor, as shown by Markey. In Iceland bliva penetrated into the written language in the sense of 'remain' (Westergård-Nielsen 1946: 33-4), but *verða* maintained itself without either semantic or phonetic change. In Fa *blíva* is common in speech, but a manful effort is being made to restore *verða* in spite of its homonymy with *vera*.

11.5.5. One can study the whole impact of LG on Sc by going through Hellquist (1929-32), who devotes nearly 150 pages to enumerating the spheres of life affected: names of persons, titles, terms of abuse, tools and equipment, weapons, musical instruments, weights and measures, commerce, courtly behavior, mining, foods, animals, weather, diseases, law and administration, education, etc. Many of these thousands of terms were only in transit through LG, of course, from other languages, but their form and the time of their entry combine to pinpoint them as MLG. In many cases they were borrowed more than once, in several MLG forms, e.g. gikt vs. ODa and Nw-Sw dial. ikt rheumatism, skole vs. NN skule school. What no one has attempted is to assess the subtler influence of MLG on the meanings of the existing Sc vocabulary, e.g. draga draw probably acquired the meanings of 'go, leave' and 'bear, carry' from MLG dragen (Westergård-Nielsen 1946: 53; Fritzner 1. 255). There are also vast numbers of compounds and derivatives, which could have been formed independently, but look suspiciously German.

It has been questioned whether Da or Sw was more profoundly influenced by MLG, the usual opinion being that Da as being closer to Germany must naturally be the one that received the greatest impact. No one has actually made a serious study of the problem, but the fact that the merchants of the Hansa traveled by sea, and that Gotland was one of their primary cities in the north, makes it quite needless to assume any great difference between Da and Sw (or even Nw). In the vocabulary there are differences in both directions: Sw has borrowed MLG fönster, Da retained vindue; Sw borrowed MLG ontberen as umbära, Da nativized it (erroneously) as undvære (which was later reproduced in Sw as undvara!). On the other hand, Da borrowed hogmod pride sound by sound as hogmodh > howmodh (now written hovmod), while Sw nativized it as högmod; Da took over MLG merschum meerschaum as merskum, while Sw translated it as sjöskum (lit. 'sea-foam'). Da borrowed MLG schadenfroh malevolent as skadefro, Sw as skadeglad. Both rendered Latin conscientia with a new native word, samwit (cf MHG samewizze, OIc samvizka), which Sw

kept as samvete, but Da gave up in favor of samvittighed from MLG samvitticheit. Such differences, which at first were often small or non-existent, have been magnified by later developments, either of nationalistic purism or of renewed German (esp. HG) influence.

11.5.6. The extent to which Da and Sw had been lexically affected by the time of the Reformation, when HG influence replaced LG, may be studied in the new Bible translations issued in Da, Sw and Ic (see the texts below, 11.7d-f). In the story of Creation (Gen. 1: 1-10) the Da translation used six LG loanwords: begyndelse beginning, sueue move, bleff was, befestning firmament, ske happen, forsamle sig be gathered together. The Sw version used only four of these, but the remaining two were exact native equivalents of Luther's HG, wardt ward, fäste Veste. In the Ic version only one was LG (ske), the rest native (upphaf, færðast, vard, festing, samansafnast). In the pre-Reformation versions (freely translated from the Vulgate) not one of these was found: ONw-Ic (Stjórn)/OSw (Pentateuch) upphaf/ophow, flytiaz/fara, varð, festingarhiminn/fæstilse, verða, samniz saman/kome saman. The following table (Fig. 13) analyzes the same relationship for the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20: 3-17), adding an ODa version (c. 1470) which shows a relatively late form of the language, and comparing the words with the Vulgate and German (Luther) sources (Ger loans are italicized).

It is clear from a comparison with the earliest translation that the MLG loans were not strictly 'necessary': OSc had within it the resources to produce an adequate version of the Bible. The Ic translation continued this tradition, though accepting three of the fifteen words under Da influence (today only falskur is still in use). Before 1500 only a few were admitted into OSw (liknilse, herra, fals) and ODa (herre, søge, fafængeligen, porth, falsk, etc.), but in the new Reformation translations ODa accepted all fifteen and OSw all but one. They are still part of the lexicon of these languages, though some of them (Sw beläte, nästa; Da hjemsøge, forfængelig, næste) have a distinctly archaic (Biblical) flavor. These were probably dictated by a literal-minded fidelity to the Latin or German models, but the samples as a whole are typical of the sea-change in Sc expression, and they permit a word-by-word scrutiny of changing responses to identical stimuli.

11.5.7. While the LG influence exerted itself primarily through daily life, above all in the cities, Latin continued to exist as an umbrella

Fig. 13. Biblical Loanwords

	Pre-R	eformation		Post-Reformation					
Lat	ONw-Ic	OSw	ODa	Ger	Ic	Sw	Da		
(Vulgate)	(1250)	(1350)	(1470)	(Luther)	(1584)	(1541)	(1550)		
sculptile	skurgod	skyrdh	utskoren thing	Bildnis	bijlæte	beläte	billede		
similitudo	liking	liknilse	æfterlig[n]ænde	Gleichnis	lijking	lijknelse	lignelse		
dominus	drottinn	herra	herre	der Herr	Drottinn	Herren	Herren		
visitare	vitia	hæmpnis	søge	heimsuchen	vitia	sökia	hiemsøge		
misericordia		miskund	miskundh	Barmherzig- keit	myskunsemd	barmhert- igheet	miskund <i>hed</i>		
assumere in vanum	taka vit hegoma	wanwyrdha	tiltaghæ <i>fafæn-</i> <i>gelighæ</i>	misbrauchen	vanbruka	misbruka	misbruge, tage forfengelige		
insons	saklauss	saklaus	vskadeligh	ungestraft	ohegndur	ostraffat	wstraffet		
operare	vinna	sysla	arbeydhe	arbeiten	erfida	arbeta	arbeyde		
advena	vtlendr madr	gæster	vtlennyng	Fremdling	vtlendskur	fremling	fremmet		
porta	hlid	_	porth	Thor	borgarhlid	stadz port	port		
honorare	vegsama	hedhra	hedre	ehren	heidra	ära	ære		
moechari	giora hordoma	gøra hor	driffwe hoor	ehebrechen	drygia hordom	göra hoor	bedriffue hoer		
proximus	naungi	granne	næste, naboo	Nächsten	naungi	nästa	neste		
falsum testi- monium	liugvitni	fals witne	falsk witnæ	falsch Zeugnis	falskan vit- nisburd	falskt witnes- byrd	falskt vidnes- byrd		
concupisca- re, deside- rare	girnazt	hawa giri	gyrnæs, æfter- stundæ, attra	gelüsten	girnast	hafwa <i>lusta</i> , <i>begära</i>	begere		

over the languages. One of the things that made a man learned was that he had learned Latin, not just to read it, but also to speak it. King Gustavus Vasa's faithful chronicler, Peder Swart (officially Petrus Niger, d. 1562) reports a scene from the famous Assembly at Västerås in 1527 which is like a symbolic confrontation of the dying Middle Ages with Modern Times. This was the Assembly (Herredag) at which King Gustavus succeeded in bringing the Church prelates to their knees and turning Sweden from a Catholic to a Lutheran country under his personal domination. Dr. Peder Galle opposed him, while Master Oluff (Petersson, alias Petri) supported him:

Doctar Peder Galle och M: Oluff stege vp och nappades welleliga. Men ther osamde them mest om att Doctor Peder wille haffuadt förhender på latin, men Mester Oluff wille haffuadt före på Suensko, att alle then menige man skulle förstå huad the sade rett eller orett. The hölle en lång stund, att huad then ene sporde på thet ena målat, suarade then andre på ett annadt måell, till thes menige man begijnte ropa och badh them tala Suensko. (Swart 1912, p. 118)

Doctor Peder Galle and Master Oluff arose and wrangled mightily. But what they most clashed over was that Doctor Peder wanted to carry on in Latin, while Master Oluff wanted to present it in Swedish, so that all the common people would understand whether they spoke right or wrong. They kept this up for a long time, one asking in one language, the other answering in another language, until the common people began to shout and asked them to speak Swedish.

As we shall see, the Reformation did not bring Latin to an end; even Luther switched back and forth from German to Latin in his table conversation, and it is reported that the famous seventeenth-century chancellor of Sweden, Axel Oxenstierna, spoke a macaronic combination of Latin and Sw.

vocabulary remained the bread-and-butter part of the language. Everyday life went on, and the dialects developed new aspects of the native lexicon which we do not have the space to enlarge on here. Studies of the development have been made, from Zetterholm's studies (1937) mapping the terms for domestic animals to Bandle's more detailed analysis (1967) of the WSc variety of the same. H. Jonsson's work (1966) on terms for bodies of water, Fries's (1964) on terms for stiles, and N. Lindqvist's (1947) mapping of lexical isoglosses in SW Sweden are examples of the research that has given

us a clearer picture of the culture areas of Scandinavia. Lindqvist found that many words had spread into southern Sweden and then stopped at or near an isogloss that cuts Sweden in half along a NW/SE diagonal, somewhere beyond the borders of the old Da kingdom.

There was a growth in the number of foreign names adopted by the internationally mobile nobility and clergy and gradually sifting down. A name like *Magnus*, originally an attributive epithet of the Frankish king Karl, Carolus Magnus, or Charlemagne, was adopted both in the Nw and Sw royal families and won great popularity. But the mass of the population maintained such pagan or early Christian names as *Erik* and *Olaf*, *Inge* and *Sven*, *Asgaut* and *Bothild*, which in Modéer's words 'have been well known in all Sc countries and formed a bond of union between Scandinavians from widely separated areas, but have been strangers elsewhere' (1964: 67).

rr.6 The Rise of the Standard Languages. The transition from local or individual writing traditions to a public, official and nation-wide standard language was not made at one blow. When we regard the mid sixteenth century as a crucial period for this development, it is due to the dramatic changes that were produced by the political and technical innovations immediately preceding it. Printing made possible the growth of a new reading public, and the Reformation added both divine and secular sanction. Centralized government required a uniform and stable code for its communication, and through the printed word many of its subjects got their first chance to participate in the affairs of their country. Even while the spoken dialects of the common people were becoming ever more fragmented because of their isolation and inbreeding, a countercurrent was setting in that reversed this trend by setting up language models that were valid wherever the central government could establish its authority.

variety of medieval traditions took place in close dependence on the royal power as exerted through the kings' chanceries, the modest bureaucracy of that day. But with the Reformation the State also took over the functions of the Church, which was primarily responsible for the new translations of the Bible that became arbiters, not only of religion and morality, but also of language. Few could read,

but their numbers would increase, and the forms hallowed by the Good Book and its offspring were sure to exert a strong influence on all who read and wrote. If we emphasize the Bible translations over the other literature of the period, it is because their language had greater dignity and stability and at least indirectly reached more people and influenced them more deeply than any other piece of writing.

Erasmus had made the Greek text available in 1516 and Luther followed with his first translation into HG in 1522. Protestant doctrine rejected the kind of Bible paraphrases that had been obligatory in the Middle Ages, and required that the Bible should be made known in exact versions, so that everyman could read the very words of the evangelists and apostles through whom God had spoken.

- 11.6.2. The close ties of Norden with northern Germany made it inevitable that the Sc countries would follow in the footsteps of the reformers. Within the first generation of the Reformation three official translations of the Bible were made, thereby assuring the continued life of three Sc languages, Da, Sw and Ic. We consider the developments in each country: Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Norwegian colonies and Iceland, in that order.
- (1) Denmark. As the Reformation came first to Denmark, so the first abortive attempt at a NT in Sc was the so-called 'King Christiern II's New Testament' published at Leipzig in 1524. Its faults stimulated the master of Da translators, Christiern Pedersen, to produce a more acceptable one in 1529. Pedersen (c. 1480–1554) performed many services for the Da language, including a Latin–Danish dictionary (1510) and a translation of Saxo's History of Denmark (c. 1520). His draft translation of the complete Bible was used by a royal commission which King Christiern III charged with the task of making an official Da Bible. The commission was adjured by the king to follow Luther's version as closely as possible, an order which it took with a pinch of salt. After many revisions and reworkings, Christiern III's Bible appeared in 1550.

Whatever inconsistencies still remained (as shown by Molde 1949), we may agree with Skautrup (2. 210) that in general it was 'a homogeneous linguistic monument'. Christiern Pedersen has been called the 'founder of the Da written norm'. All his writings from 1529 on show a firm intention to replace the baroque diversity of

medieval writing with an ordered system. He helped to create a school of writing by establishing his own printshop in Malmö in 1532. His norm was in no sense a reproduction of anyone's spoken dialect, least of all that of Sjælland; it was a continuation and regularization of the writing tradition of Copenhagen. In this consciously etymological norm the words were given a consistent, traditional form. Many had tried to represent the lengthened vowels after the great vowel shift by geminating them. This practice was eliminated except in monosyllables, where it could be helpful in distinguishing meanings (ved by vs. veed know) or vowel qualities, especially for aa, which now had the sound [5] and needed to be distinguished from lengthened a (raad advice vs. rad row). Multiple consonants fancied by medieval writers were reduced to a functional minimum (ffaa get > faa, szyndtt mind > sind), gemination being retained largely to mark preceding vowels as short (fodder feet, domme judge, cf CSc fotr,  $d\bar{\theta}ma$ ). Older p(th) and  $\tilde{\sigma}(dh)$  were reduced from t/th/d/dh to initial texcept for d in pronouns and adverbs (thre three > tre, thu you > du), while the voiced postvocalic [ $\eth$ ] was written d (blodh blood >blod). CSc p t k, now anything from voiced stops to fricatives, semivowels, or zero, were established as b d g (gripe/gribe/griffue grip > gribe, feth/fedh fat > fed, taghe/tage take > tage). Harder to regulate and still somewhat inconsistent were the historical spirants  $\delta g$ , by now generally vocalized or silent, as reflected in the variety of spellings for postvocalic g: gaffn benefit, dag day, skow forest, eye own, regn rain, pløye plow, løgn lie, ful bird. ODa  $\delta > d$  in føde food, j in møje exertion, zero in bie wait, while g became g in drage draw, v in lave make. Historical *ll/ld* and *nn/nd* were confused, with a strong trend to write them ld and nd (mand man, hende her, ilde bad, all historically without d). Vowel qualities were more clearly designated: y was distinguished from i, long e from æ (short usually e for both), long o from aa (short usually o for both), unstressed [ $\mathfrak{d}$ ] e for older  $\mathfrak{x}$ .

This new written norm became the basis of a supralocal speech norm that eventually grew into standard spoken Da. Even in the highest circles the spoken norms at this time were local and included many forms that later came to be branded as vulgar. Amusing evidence of this is found in the letters of Queen Elizabeth written to her husband in 1523-4. She had learned her Da by ear and wrote as her French training dictated (soyre answer for sware); among the pronunciations which no queen could use today were palatalized l and n

(ayl for al all, hugn for hund dog), diphthongized long e (myene for mene mean), vocalized p (> b > w), as in taue for tabe lose (Skautrup 2. 192). The social class that inevitably had to develop norms for national use were the clergy and the officials, plus the merchants, in short the upper middle class, whose duties took them to various parts of the country, and whose dignity required a formal speech that was recognizably similar to that of the written norm. The first Da normative grammarian, Jacob Madsen Arhus, wrote in 1589 that budding orators should (in near-Ciceronian terms) 'learn from politicians and learned men, who have long held public office, preachers who have long practice, and sensible and respected women'. The spoken norm became one that adopted spelling pronunciations where the writing required it, e.g. -b- in words like skabe create for the vocalizations of the dialects, but which elsewhere adopted the phonetic base of the local dialects, among which that of Copenhagen was the most prestigious.

(2) Sweden. In the early OSw period the Sw norm was not markedly different from that of Da, but the many innovations in Da pronunciation and grammar left Sw behind, so that by 1500 any phonetically realistic norm would have shown a considerable cleft. After their political separation the Swedes were not inclined to tolerate Da features in their writing and chose to emphasize their differences. As late as 1506 the Sw Councillors of State could write obsequiously to the Danes that they were all 'of one language', but in 1554, after the break, the Sw writer Johannes Magnus could attribute to his countryman Bishop Hemming Gadh a scathing indictment of the Danes which even included their language: 'besides, they do not trouble to speak like other people, but force their words out as if they wish to cough, and seem almost on purpose to twist their words in their throats before they come out. . . . The German tongue they delight in talking even if they do not know it very well, but the language of the Goths and Swedes they hold in contempt. . . .'

Whether Gadh actually said this in 1510 or not, the passage reflects awareness of the growing cleft between Da and Sw and a determination of the Swedes not to accept the role of linguistic second fiddle.

Gadh might very well have said it, as we know from the vigorous style in which he wrote more than a hundred preserved letters between 1498 and 1520. In these one can study, as Seth Gustavson

(1950) has done, the informal (as well as the formal) language of his time, highly personal expressions from everyday life, including a repertory of oaths surprising for a bishop, until one discovers that he was also a man of the world, a diplomatic and military leader. His orthography is medieval in its inconsistency, but modern in its grammatical and lexical forms. In its leading traits it agrees closely with the tradition from Vadstena in Östergötland, where he may have gotten his education. He shows no purism about loanwords, either from Latin or LG, both of which languages he also mastered.

The first Sw translation of the NT (1526) followed close on the heels of the Da of 1524 and like it required considerable revision before it could be incorporated into the official Bible which came to be known as Gustavus Vasa's Bible of 1541. It has been maintained by N. Lindqvist (1918, 1928) that the translators drew on the medieval Vadstena translations and other native Sc traditions to produce an 'archaic version' of the Bible. This conclusion has been challenged with some reason by Neuman (1936) and Sjögren (1949), who have shown that the chief model was Luther's version, with its emphasis on the use of understandable native equivalents for the rather simple biblical originals as presented by Erasmus in Greek and Latin. The preface of NT 1526 emphasized and that of the 1541 Bible reiterated that the text must be made available to 'the poor simple Christians here in this kingdom' who could not benefit from the originals. The translators were faced with problems, since it was not always possible to find 'such words in the Swedish language as did justice to the Latin or Greek words'. As in Denmark, they developed a fairly consistent norm, and one that on many points was consciously different from Da, e.g. in the adoption of a b a (later  $\ddot{a}\ddot{o}\dot{a}$ ) for sounds that in Da were usually written x o aa. Sjögren (1949: 146) characterizes the language of the Bible as 'conservative and traditional', but not archaic; the NT 1526 had many features of contemporary speech, including Da and LG loanwords, that were felt to be local and undignified, and therefore they disappeared from the final version.

The traditional nature of the new Sw norm was reflected in its retention of the morphological suffixes that were generally silent in the speech of the Uppland region where the translations were made. The chief translators were from this region, but they wrote -en in the f. sg. where the dialects had -a (iordhen the earth), -et in the n. sg.

where the dialects had -e (diwpet the deep), -a in the inf. where earlier chancery tradition under Da influence had -e (stigha rise), -r in plurals and presents where OSw and the CSw dialects had none (daghar days, talar speaks), -or in the f. pl. where -er was spoken (stiernor stars), -d(h) which was mostly silent (skapadhe created, blodh blood). Some of these features were in fact preserved in the dialects of Gö and SSw, but they were clearly not derived directly from these; rather they reflected an attempt to make the orthography as grammatically explicit as possible. This extended also to case and gender forms that probably were gone from Stockholm speech, but were traditionally written and were still in full use in the surrounding dialects (Sjögren 1949: 110-44), esp. the dat. and acc. (på iordenne on the earth dat., på iordena acc., iorden nom.; i sigh sielffuo in itself n. sg.; aff Egypti lande from Egypt's land; i himlenom in the heavens; effter sijna artt according to its kind), or the redundant genitive (tråldomsens of the thralldom, tins stadz of your city). The orthography proper required less arbitrary fixation than Da: spellings like th dh gh ffu (w, ff) for t d g v were still preserved, but used with fair consistency (that that, sadhe said, morghon morning, eghit own n., haffua have, watnet the water). The work was done under the personal supervision of the archbishop of Uppsala, Laurentius Petri, whose zeal for a pure Sw led him later to include in the Church Rules (Kyrkoordning) of 1571 the admonition to pastors and teachers that they should avoid foreign words and teach their pupils 'good, old Swedish words'. According to Lindqvist (1928: 258) he was 'Sweden's first conscious and consistent national language reformer (språksträvare)'.

As in Denmark, the norm did not agree with anyone's speech, but was a species of idealized form for everyone. This was demonstrated by Hesselman (1901), when he showed that Sw rules for vowel lengthening in short syllables failed to agree with those of any local dialect, and were a compromise among the conflicting rules of the Uppland region (11.4; but see Modéer 1957 for a newer view). Standard Sw got lengthened vowels in words like leva live (CSc li\$\phi\_a\$), lengthened consonants in words like droppa drop (CSc dropa). He also showed (1904) that well into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Sw grammarians were making rules that reflected their local dialects rather than the standard as it eventually developed. 'In a language of this kind we cannot expect sound laws to be applied in

the same way as in the dialects' (Hesselman 1901: 22). The regularity of the dialects is certainly an illusion, but one may agree that a standard language has wider choices and may at first show greater vacillation. A study by Palmér (1917) of the vowel qualities confirms the vacillation in writing in the first half of the sixteenth century: geffua: giffua give, liffua: leffua live, wikor: weckor weeks, halla: hålla hold, plegha: plägha care for. The decisions of the Bible translators of 1541 in favor of the second in each of these pairs significantly reduced the vacillation and led to the eventual stabilization of these forms. But the elaborate case inflections were a traditional artifact which was soon discarded.

In fact they had already been discarded in the chancery language of the Sw government. This form of Sw had close contacts with Da, thanks to the political union, and its users were not going to change just because the reformers wished to archaize. A characteristic document that reveals this 'Dano-Swedish chancery style', as G. Holm has called it, is the nobleman Per Brahe's Oeconomia, written about 1580 (printed 1677, ed. by Granlund and Holm 1971). Typically this style, which is that of most Sw prose in the sixteenth century, replaces the Sw vowels a/o/u with -e: haffue (Sw hava) have inf., anteknede (Sw antecknade) noted. Da lenis consonants occur, e.g. mögen (Sw mycken) much, udi (Sw uti), and the f. pron. is hun (Sw hon). On these points the biblical forms eventually triumphed, but not on the case endings of the nouns.

(3) Norway. The Nw writing tradition was the first to be established in Scandinavia, and by the time of the Union it had developed a relatively firm norm (Hægstad 1902). The move to Oslo of the royal chancery in 1299 (above 10.2.5) broke the intimate connection with the insular Sc of Iceland and the other Nw colonies and replaced it with exposure to influences from ESc. The thin trickle of sources from the late Middle Ages (above 11.2.2) reflects the gradual loss of political independence which led to some Sw and eventually full Da domination. We have seen (11.1) how the coronation of Christiern I as king of a united Denmark and Norway in 1450 coincided with the end of a royal chancery in Norway. A study by S. Kolsrud (1914) of the charters from Hedmark between 1315 and 1560 shows that local documents in this ENw district were composed in traditional ONw down to c. 1420. Between 1420 and 1480 they show many changes:

the accusative (or nominative) replaces the dative, such forms of ESc origin as jak for ek I and  $v\bar{i}$  for  $v\bar{e}r$  we appear, the dual-plural distinction breaks down, and monophthongs frequently replace the old diphthongs. A Sw influence is apparent, which yields to Da after 1450. By 1480 Da features appear, including voiced for voiceless stops after vowels  $(p\ t\ k > b\ d\ g)$ , confusion of m. and f. gender, loss of dative, and the establishment of vi and oss for the older  $v\bar{e}r$  and okkr. Even so some Nw traits surfaced, including the old diphthongs and the voiceless stops, at least until 1560 when the documents became entirely Da except for occasional slips.

The gradual breakdown of the norm did not of course reflect in any direct way the actual speech development, only the practices of the government officials. Given a native government and chancery, the official language would have developed in much the same way as did Da and Sw, from the more to the less inflected language of the modern dialects (Kolsrud 1921). But the decimation of the old Nw nobility and its fusion with the Da and Sw, the many intra-Scandinavian unions and disunions during this period, the loss of the old colonies, and the intermarriage of the Nw royal house with its neighbors left Norway without leadership. As the Da rulers developed a more organized civil service, Da officials were appointed to Nw posts and the old written Nw was diluted by the practices of Da scribes. The chief Nw port, Bergen, became a major seat of the Hanseatic League, whose business language was MLG. This language was well known in Norway even before the Union, and was now used in many Nw documents when the authorities dealt with the League or with the Da kings, several of whom were LG. The invasion of MLG words was of the same order as in Da and Sw in the same period, if not of the same intensity, and many of them were transmitted via these languages. The episode which led to a killing far up country in Telemark (see the reading 11.7c) was initiated by one speaker's showing off his smattering of LG. Sw influence was exerted because of the royal unions in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the Birgittine Order of Vadstena which spread to Norway as well and the intimate contacts via the later Sw provinces which were still Norwegian (Jämtland, Herjedalen, Bohuslän). Sw influence on the language in official documents began in the 1360s and reached its peak around 1450 (Indrebø NM 177-81): it was fashionable to write I vilin instead of Nw per vilio (or vilir) you will (pl). Other

pronouns like jak/jek and vi were equally supported by Da influence and spread far into the dialects, especially in ENw (Tylden 1944). Otherwise the permanent impact of Sw was small, limited to a few forms like høg high, høgd height, skyss ride, etc.

The transition from Nw to Da was far more significant and decisive, beginning with the accession of Queen Margaret in 1387. Da tradition in official usage was very recent, and the variations in form were such as to leave a margin for considerable mixture between Da and Nw features. In a letter issued in Trondheim in 1483 (DN 1.935) King Hans confirmed certain privileges for the farmers of Uppdal and in return 'the skulle gore halff tridhia hamlæ i arlighom leydangher' (they should equip two and a half oarsmen in yearly tribute): the italicized words are the only ones in Nw form, and they were probably copied from older documents; thrithi also appears in Da documents, arlighom becomes Da merely by dropping the -om (which was still in use in Sk and Sw), while leydangher was lething in Da by this time. This was apparently the last royal charter in any kind of Nw; about the same time the State Council also gave up Nw, and by 1500 local authorities had followed the example; the archbishopric in Trondheim resisted until 1510, the local judges until 1525. Each milepost represented one more step in the gradual Danicization of the written language, which was an undeclared and apparently unrecognized consequence of the assumption of political power within the Union by Da administrators.

The underlying reasons for the transition have been acrimoniously debated by modern Nw scholars, whose views of the past have shown evidence of influence from the language controversy of the present. Seip and his follower Grøtvedt (e.g. 1931) have suggested that Da won its position in Norway because it was more advanced and simplified than ONw and more in agreement with actual speech, especially in SE Norway, where the capital was. Indrebø attributed it entirely to the political and social conditions and pointed out that in fact ONw, when it was written at all, kept up with many of the developments in Nw speech and needed only the support of the authorities to carry on (NM 208-9). He suggested that if Middle Nw had not been rejected for political reasons, it would have developed a conservative overall form much more like that of Sw, with suffixes that were written traditionally even after most dialects had abandoned them (def. f. -en, perf. part. n. -t, pres. of strong vbs. -er, wk. pret. -ade).

There can hardly be any doubt that Indrebø's view here is correct, as comparison with the development of Da and Sw shows.

Whatever the cause, MNw was replaced in the course of two or three generations by Da as the only written language. There was no attempt to produce a Nw version of the Bible at the time of the Reformation, and no secular literature other than that which the humanists began writing in Da after this time.

(4) The Nw colonies and Iceland. ONw yielded to Gaelic and later Scots in the Isle of Man in the fourteenth century, on Caithness in the fifteenth, in the Hebrides in the sixteenth. It endured longer in Shetland and the Orkneys, which were transferred politically in 1468-9. Their language was known as Norn (from ON norronn). Its forms (as recorded in Shetland) were closest to those of SWNw: -a inf. and wk. fem.,  $ll \, nn > dl \, dn$  or  $l_l l_r n_l n_l$ , bat bar > da dar that there, hw > hv/kv. The last official Nw charter is from 1509, but the spoken language lasted into the eighteenth century. Words for daily usage passed over into the new languages, and of course the place-names are a rich source of medieval Sc (Marwick 1929; Thorson 1939; Jakobsen 1897, 1928-32, 1936; Hægstad 1900). In Greenland the Sc population died out around 1500, leaving behind about fifteen runic inscriptions as evidence of their language (bibliography in Düwel 1968: 87). Greenlandic shows general kinship with WNw and OIc, perhaps more with the former; it is like Fa in having t for b in pronouns (tana for benna this).

The Faroe Islands remained a Sc possession and hence Sc-speaking down to the present. The few documents from the medieval period were in regular ONw with some minor Fa features (Sørlie 1936); in 1552 the bishop's seat and cathedral school at Kirkjubøur was closed and the Da language introduced. Fa developed its own highly characteristic linguistic form, which has been described as 'Middle Nw' (Indrebø NM 274); but at least today it deviates considerably from that of SW Norway where most of the settlers probably came from (Hægstad VM 1917). But there was no Fa written standard in the Middle Ages.

Ic alone of the WSc dialects succeeded in maintaining its written tradition through the centuries of Da dominance, and in developing it into a standard language at the time of the Reformation. Many factors have been pointed out to explain this: isolation that escaped immediate control by the Da rulers; the intense tradition of writing that had made most Icelanders literate; the more conservative and unified spoken language. The 1540 New Testament of Oddur Gottskálksson (who was of a Nw family and had studied in Bergen) was the beginning of an entirely new development, which brought a whole literature of translations into the country in support of the Reformation. The Ic of this literature bears the marks of a powerful LG and Da influence on the orthography, grammar and lexicon; but the framework remained Ic, and later generations were to eliminate much of the foreign influence. It could be filtered out, because it had in fact filtered in at a much slower rate than elsewhere in Sc. As Westergård-Nielsen (1946: xliii) has shown, most of the loanwords in the Middle Ages came via Norway, to which Iceland was administratively and ecclesiastically tied from the 1260s until well into the sixteenth century.

Resistance to the Reformation was forcibly broken by 1550, but Ic intransigence made it necessary for the Da reformers to make special efforts. A printing press imported by the last Catholic bishop was put to good use turning out a multitude of writings, culminating in the complete Bible in 1584, called 'Guðbrandsbiblía' from Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson, the translator (Bandle 1956). The NT of 1540 drew to some extent on medieval religious terminology (Helgason 1929: 196 ff.), but also on the learned style of OIc, with its exaggerated use of the pres. part., interrogatives as relative pronouns, the passive in -st etc. But primarily these writings reflected an effort to render faithfully, i.e. literally, the German and Danish originals, while at the same time considering the needs of Ic readers. The orthography, except for b, was limited to the typefaces available in Da (no accents,  $\phi$  for  $\ddot{o}$ , d for  $\ddot{o}$ ), and showed many Da influences, e.g. -e for -i in final position. For anyone accustomed to later Ic purism in writing it is startling to find a rich flora of words like friheit freedom, kærligheit love, bitala pay, forakta scorn, konfirmera confirm and eyðileggja destroy. It was also characteristic that many words of minor classes like the adverbs and prepositions should be borrowed, e.g. likavel anyway, svoddan such, tillika besides, tráss in spite of. If any of these are listed at all in modern Ic dictionaries, it is with a warning symbol that tells a good writer not to use them. But of course many of the words that entered at this time came to stay, having been thoroughly naturalized in the process, e.g. meðhjálpari assistant from HG Mithelfer; and many lived on in speech to the present, e.g. kokkur cook.

of the Middle Ages were of limited influence and subject to extinction or radical alteration according to the often unstable political and religious constellations of the period. At the end of the fifteenth century the union of Norden under the scepter of Denmark was beginning to have a corresponding linguistic effect. The revolt and growing military power of Sweden upset this trend and made certain that at least Sw would not be replaced by Da. The invention of printing and the establishment of the Reformation in Germany gave each of the two Sc states the technical and political means for setting up their own norms of writing and printing. The survival of a third tradition in Iceland was a defiance of the general trend toward unification, while Norway was too close to the centers of power and too disunited to offer serious resistance to the invading Da written language.

**11.7 Texts.** Manuscripts gradually yielded to printed books. The following passages relate to historical events (a-c) and to the translation of the Bible and other documents into the vernacular (d-g).

(a) Denmark 1: A Danish chronicler expounds the advantages of the Union

This inor fom leggis aff ftrenge tree hmn brotther fulo neppeliaa Thy fper miffma for wthi fpee om hun leggis lemppeliga Jeg lave en inoz my alla fterch tha iea mand imerigis humne Och erffve norga till vanmarh ath the faulla staa i lwne Inthy molo elver marolene mach kan the famme riga belhave Le meohn the bliffue wy lame pactly fom ieg thm lammen lave Thi randher leg alle the gove men fom fore the riga shulla sware Rivver or fwenne hwer or en i lave thm faa famen ware

Then snor som leggis aff strenge tree hwn brøsther fuld neppeligæ Thet syer wiisman for wthen spee om hwn leggis lemppeligæ Jeg lade en snor met allæ sterck tha ieg wand swerigis krwne Och erffde norgæ tijl danmark ath the skullæ staa i lwne Inthet wold elder wærdsens macth kan the samme rigæ beskade Ee medhen the bliffue wet samme pacth som ieg them sammen lade Thi raadher ieg alle the gode men som fore the rigæ skullæ sware Ridder oc swenne hwer oc en i lade them saa sammen ware

The cord that is made with three strands will hardly ever break—

so says the wise man without a doubt—
if it is properly made.

TEXTS 335

I made a cord with all my strength, when I won Sweden's crown and inherited Norway for Denmark,

so they might stay at peace.
No force or violence in all the world can damage these same kingdoms so long as they stay with this pact

that I made for them together.

Therefore I counsel all the good men
who should answer for these king-

doms,

knights and squires one and all, you leave them so together.

(MDa: Den danske Rimkrønike, anonymous, written after 1450; here from the printed edition (1495, by Ghemen) p. 86. The speaker is Queen Margaret, who had united the three kingdoms at Kalmar in 1397.)

### (b) Sweden 1: A personal letter about important affairs

Erligh och velborin herra her swante nielson swergis rikes marsk sin kere herre ödmyukligan [seal]

Mina ödmyuka helse forsendh medh gudh Verdigh herre och strenge riddare/ aff allo hierta och största ömyukth tackar jach idher· ffor then stora godhwilia/ i mik bevisth haffwe/ i myn ffrawara/ i manga handha mattha/ hawer jach altith hörth idhert tall til godho/ och mith besta/ hwilkith jach gerna forskulla will sa lenghe jach leffwer/ och loth then dande swennen sander idher fogath och Thro thienere/ pa stekeborgh well akenna/ ath i ware myn ffulkomin wen/ Thy han ffor medh mik som medh en mektigh landis herra/ badhe til kosth och täring pa slottith och sidan i [1/2] oxsa til skips/lathe mik gudh aldrigh döö wtan ath jach matthe wara man fforskulla thet och alth annath som i mik bevisth haffwin/ werdigh herre· om thet ärendhe ther mellan myn herre biskopin sig forlöpandis är/ och mik idher capellan/ Thet Honorable and well-born lord Sir Svante Nilsson marshall of Sweden his dear master humbly [seal]

My humble greeting [I] send with God. Worthy lord and powerful noble! With all my heart and the greatest humility I thank you for the great good will you have shown me in my absence in many ways. I have always heard you speak well of me and on my behalf, for which I will be indebted as long as I live. And the honorable squire Sander, your bailiff and faithful servant at Stäkeborg let it be well known that you were my perfect friend, for he treated me like a mighty landed lord, both for provisions and sustenance at the castle, and then ½ ox for the ship. May God never let me die unless I might be man enough to repay that and all else that you have shown me. Worthy lord: concerning the affair that is current between my lord bishop and me, your chaplain—this I leave in abeyance until your arrival, when it will

lather jach sa besta· til idhers tilkompth. nar idhers besth til maks koma kan ath i hiith komen/ idher Thrösth och kerlige wilie her innan begärandis i alle matthe/ gudh ffor sin nadh och myskundh· lathe mik aldrig annath begära·/ wtan thet gudhi· the helge kirkio· och rikith til gangn koma kan och andhrom til godh eptherdömilsse/ och ey annars/ ey wil jach och annath begära utan thet the werdigha herrar in capitulo samfelth ja til sigia skulo om gudh sa forseth hawer/ än thy i myn makth är/ på war helga ffadhers pawens weghna/ mykith thet jach ey nw scriffwa kan/ nar jach komber til ordh medh idher Strengeligheth hemeligan talandis wil jach idher wndhervisa erendhe hurw thette slitas skall Her medh idher gudh befellandis medh liff och siell scriffwith i Sudhercöpwngh gansth hasteligan sancti lamberti dag MVc

be most suitable for you to come here, meanwhile asking for your comfort and good will in every way. May God in His grace and mercy never let me ask for anything else, except what for God, the Holy Church, and the kingdom may be of benefit, and to others a good example and nothing else. Nor will I ask for anything except what the worthy men in the Chapter unanimously will agree to, if God has so decided, and this is in my power on behalf of our Holy Father the Pope. Much that I can not now write, when I get to speak with you, speaking strictly in secret, I will tell you about my purpose, how this shall be concluded. Herewith recommending you to God with life and soul, written in Söderköping quite hastily, St. Lambert's Day [17 Sept.], 1500

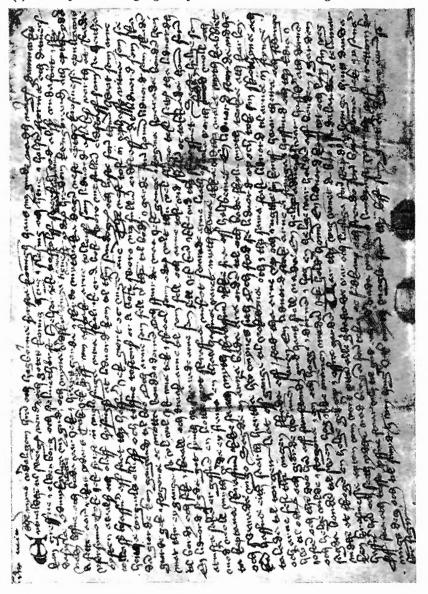
H Gadh

#### H Gadh

(MSw: Letter from Hemming Gadh to Svante Nilsson, Marshall of Sweden, on Gadh's return from Rome in quest of the bishopric of Linköping. Orig. in his own hand in Sturearkivet (Cop.) A III, n. 1517; printed in G. Carlsson 1915: 349.)

TEXTS 337

(c) Norway: How language conflict can lead to manslaughter



(Line 6) Tok jek proff vm afftak arne tolleifson som liduord aslakson varth at skadæ vforsynio Tok jek fyrst ii viglysingæ vitnæ skilrik er a bok sworo medh fullum eidstaff som sa heitha øysten awalson och olaff hysingson at liduord kom til theim samdøgres och lyste fore theim hwat som arne tolleifson haffuer aff faat thet haffuer jek giort oc ingen annen Ther nest tok ii vphaffs vitnæ som sæ [sic] heithæ torgiuls oluersson och toffue tostenson er a bok sworo medh fullum eidstaff at liduord som skadan giorde kom gangandes til bøø Och arne som fell var ther til bodes i garden fore honum liduord som skaden giorde gek i stogonæ oc møttæ bonden i dørnen Och spurdæ maa jek gangæ i stogonæ swaradæ bonden hwi mat thu ey gangæ sa vel vil jek unnæ tek i skaal som odrom vilt thu vel flygiæ tek/ settes tha liduordh til bordz och fek i skaall och draak arne til som fell och arne tok vid skalen oc takkadæ honum fore En liduord sagdæ got synth jw. swarade arne som fell jek kan ikke vid thet skraffuet Sagde helge som atuistæ saken er geffuen/ en liothæ myt skraffuæ nokot swarade arne laath oss tala vorth fader moll och moder moll myth verdæ ey framare en thav haffuæ varet myth kwnnæ ikkæ vid thet malet myth kabbretta keptænæ skraffuum ikke sa ath myth skraffuum ikke fra oss halsbeinet En liduord sturdæ vidher och swaradæ ingo Sagdæ en arnæ badæ æræ orden til och badæ skylu myth tenkæ ath karlen kan haffuæ eith saarth hierthæ hwer mynnes

I took testimony about the slaying of Arne Tolleifson whom Lidvord Aslakson injured without intention. I first took two trustworthy witnesses to the manslaughter report, who swore on the Book with a valid oath, [and] who are so named: Øysten Avalson and Olaf Hysingson, that Lidvord came to them the same day and reported to them [that] what Arne Tolleifson has suffered, 'that I have done and no one else'. Thereupon I took two firsthand witnesses, who are so named: Torgiuls Olversson and Tove Tostensson, [and] who swore on the Book with a valid oath, that Lidvord (who committed the injury) came walking to Bø. And Arne (who died) was there as a guest at the farm before him. Lidvord (who committed the injury) went to the house and met the master of the house at the door and asked, 'May I go into your house?' The farmer answered, 'Why shouldn't you go in? I'll as gladly offer you a bowl as the others, if you will behave well.' Lidvord then sat down at table and got a bowl, and he drank to Arne (who died), and Arne accepted the toast and thanked him for it. But Lidvord said, 'Got synth jw.' [LG: God bless you] Arne (who died) answered, 'I don't like that gabble.' Helge (who is charged as an accomplice) said, 'But we have to gabble about something.' Arne answered, 'Let us speak our father's and mother's tongue-we won't be any greater than they have been. We don't like that language with whey cheese in the mouth. TEXTS 339

sith Och stod sa liduord vp och tok sin skothynnæ och taladæ til torgeir laat oss gangæ til orostunnæ och i thet same stak liduord til arnæ ij stynge och arne fek ther ingen skadæ aff/ stod tha arne vp och rugthæ sin kniff hwar theiræ och stungo hwer til odrom och giorde hwer annen saren En liduord stak arne ii stynga i hoffuud och thet tridiæ i josten och ther doo han aff samstwndes gud hans siell nadæ En helge adernempder var haffder ath dørnen och helge vilde i stogonæ igen och hogge i dørnen i hog en helge var halden aff bonden j garden sagda bonden til swen hog ikke mannen mædan jek holder honum En liduord kom vt och løp sin veg nidher at skogen en helge gek vp i offræ garden Uar thetta vig vonnet a bøø i sudalandom a telamarken krosmessæ aptan vm varet vttan alle gridastadæ

Let's not gabble until we gabble our neckbones off.' But Lidvord looked gloomy and answered nothing. Arne went on, 'There have been words enough, and we should remember that a man can be sore of heart. Each one has something to remember.' Then Lidvord stood up and took his halberd and spoke to Torgeir, 'Let us go into battle.' And at that moment Lidvord made two thrusts at Arne, but Arne was not harmed thereby. Then Arne stood up and each of them drew their knives and thrust at each other, and each one wounded the other. But Lidvord made two thrusts at Arne's head and the third at his groin, and of this he died at once. God be merciful to his soul! And the aforementioned Helge was put out of the door, but he wanted to enter the house again and struck a blow at the door. But Helge was held by the farmer, who said to Swen, 'Don't strike the man while I am holding him.' But Lidvord got out and ran away down to the woods, while Helge went up to the Upper Farm. This slaying was committed at Bø in Sauland in Telemark on the eve of Holy Rood Day outside all holy places.

(MNw: Official report to the king by Tjostolf Sveinsson, sheriff's deputy, on a case of manslaughter in the Telemark district on 3 May 1489. The parchment original is in the Norwegian National Archives in Oslo; it is dated on Wednesday after Cross Mass (Exaltatio Crucis), i.e. 16 September, at Skien. It was first printed in DN 1. 961, but is now available in a more exact reading in F. Hødnebø, *Utvalg av norske diplomer 1350–1550*, Oslo 1966, pp. 93–4. Only lines 6–28 are transcribed here.)

(d) Denmark 2: The Creation in Danish

# Benefis Mose Forste Wog. 1.



Begyndellen skabte Gud Dimmelen oc Jorden. De Jorden vor ode oc

tom/oc der vor moret offuer Dybet / oc Buds Zland fucuede offuer Dander.

De Gud fagde/der stal blistue Liuss/oc der blest Liuss. De Gud faa/ ar Liuser vaar got/da stilde Gud Liuser fra Worcker/ockallede lius ser/Dagen/ Deb morcker/Yiatten. Da blest voass aften ocmorgen den sorie Dag.

De Gud fagde/Det stal blissue in Befelte oning mellem Vandene/fom stal arstille Vandet fra huert andet. Da giorde Gud en befestning/ och cassitide vandet fom vor onder Befestningen fra vandet som vor offuer Befestningen och telebaga. De Gud fallede Befestningen/10/m/melen. Da blest vaaff aften och morgen den and den Dag.

Oc Gud fagde/ Forfamle fig Bandet on der Dimlene/til befynderlige Steder/at mand Fand fee tiurtland / oc det fede faa. Oc Gud

Fand see tiuer land oc der stede saa. De Gud Fallede det tigere / Joeden oc vandens soesamling Fallede hand / Daffuet, Oc Gud saa at der vaar got.

Iohan. 1. Col. 1. Ebre. 11. Pfal. 31.

Ciuset: I.

Befest.

Dimmelen II.

Joeden. Daffuit.

(Da: upper half of page from Christiern III's Bible, printed in Copenhagen 1550; first ten verses of Genesis. Title: Biblia | Det er den gantske Hellige Scrifft vdsæt paa Danske.)

(e) Sweden 2: The Creation in Swedish



Forsta Capitel.



Eapadhe Sudh himinel och iorde war odhe och toom 1 och morter var på disper 1 och Guds ande swelfde offuer warnet.

Och Gudh sabbe Ward be liws / Och ther wards liws / Och Gudh sägh sind set at ther war gort. Ta stilde Gudh liwset ista mortree / och talladhe liwd set Dagh / och mortree s Clatt. Och wardt aff affe ton och morghon sörste bagben.

Och Gubh sabhe Ward be itt faste emellan ward nen och attstille warn sfrå

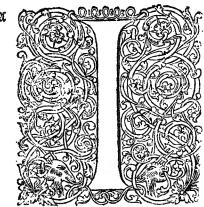
wähn. Och Gubh giorde fastet/och ätelkilde ehet watnet som war under fastet / ifra thet watn / som war offuan fastet. Och thet steedde sa. Och Gubh kalladhe fastet/Zummel. Och wardt aff affton och inorghon/eheis andre danben.

Och Gudh sabe | Församle sigh watnet som är under himmelen | vetst besynderlighte room | at thet torra ma synas | och thet steedde så. Och Gudh talladhe thet torra | Jord | och watnens församlingar talladhe han | Baaff och Gudh sägh at thet war gott.

(Sw: upper half of page from Gustavus Vasa's Bible, printed at Uppsala 1541; first ten verses of Genesis. Title: Biblia | Thet år | All then Helgha Scrifft på Swensko.)

(f) Iceland: The Creation in Icelandic

## Senesis. Eprsta Vot Monst



Upphape stapade Gud Himen Ich. 1
og Istd. Og Istden var epde og tom/og Sa syrste
Wyrkur var yser Inderdiupinu/ Og Sud Bagut
Unde fardist yser Botnen. Og Sud sagde/
Berde Lios/Og har vard Live. Og Sud sa Lios
ad Liosit var gott/ Da skilde Sud Liosit fra
Myrkrunū/z kallade Liosid/ Dag/es Myr
krid/ Nott/ Pa vard af Kuellde z Morne sa
sprste Dagur.

De Sud sagde/Dar verde ein Festing at Mage mille Batnasta/ē i sud: stal stille Botnen Bage hube fra odrum. Da giorde Gud eina Festin sing/og stilde Botnen sin voru under Festin. Festingen gusie/fra deim Botnum sin voru pfer Festingene. Dg had stiede so. Dg Gud kalla. Nimenest de Festingena Jimen/Da vard vs. af Rue. Ude og Morne sa anat Dagr.

Dg Gud fagde/Samanfafnist Beinen under Nimnenu j eirn stad/ so ad fiast meigi purt Dagur B Cand. Dg padfeidi fo. Dg Gud kallade Purrlendit Jord/x famanfafnan Batnaña kall. Isrden

(Ic: upper half of page from Guðbrandsbiblia, printed at Hólar 1584; first ten verses of Genesis. Title: Biblia pad er Øll Heilög Ritning / vtlogd a Norrænu.)

TEXTS 343

(g) Denmark 3: Christiern Pedersen comments on his practices as translator

Skulle teg fet Danken eff ter der Latine fom & Beconfinus fcreff/ Da flagde der ingen forfondet hender burg hagde och fuerchen fafft hoffuit eller fale, Som fuer kan felff fee or mercke aff de an die Waltere fom for vaare pofette Alle kes re der paa / ath de kwinde iche forftan dein Det der fordieth de fom den bofette bille ftrap faa lettelige fette ord effer ord lige fo de tochte at de lode De de ville iche goze dem bmage ath foge och lede i gode boger effter den zette mening aff ordene / Ath de Kunde fiden bofet den rette mening aff dem fom de alder mest burde at gote/The at of dene i Latiney haffue tit en anden mening en de ftrap fpnis (at haffue aff huer mand) Duo fom vil noget vofette aff Latine Debraifke eller Gredee/ Dan fkal det fact pofette ath alle andre fom ere aff det twik genraall kilde det vel forffaa / Ellete baate det bedze ath han lode det betennne Thi at de fom dem lafe oc kunde icke forftan dem De fonge lede der aff till Gudz old/oc kes die fiden bed ath lafe dem Def fige Bugd chulle wil goze meth diffe boger wit forftad den teke Det er flenfborgie Dangke (thi man taler der Dangke och tydike till hobe Diffe oid faffuer leg boit aff manges De fiae oc faa almidelige i Danmatk fom alle bel felffue bede Tager fordi dette fope ats herde til tacke til Gud bil bude mig naade till ath bofette mere paa Dangke/ Bunken the loff tack heder och are aff alle fene cres ature till emindelia tid Amen

Denne Pfaltere er volet paa Danske aff Chitstiern De son vaar Cannick i Lund och prentet i Andosp Aar effter Budz spied M D popet ... If I should have translated Danish after the Latin as St. Jerome wrote it, then no one would have understood it. It would have had neither head nor tail, as anyone can see for himself and tell from the other psalters that were translated before. Everyone complains about them that they cannot understand them. This is because those who translated them wished so easily to put down word after word just as they thought they sounded, and they would not take the trouble to search and hunt in good books for the right meaning of the words, so they could then have chosen the right meaning of them as they surely should have done. For the words of Latin often have another meaning than they seem at first (to the ordinary man).

Whoever wishes to translate anything from Latin, Hebrew, or Greek, should translate so that all others who are of his tongue can understand it well. Otherwise it were better if he left it alone, since those who read it and cannot understand it, get a distaste for God's word from it, and are thereafter bored on reading it, saying, 'What shall we do with these books, we do not understand them. This is Flensburg Danish (for there they speak Danish and German all together).' These words I have heard from many. They are commonly spoken in Denmark also, as everyone knows for himself. Accept therefore this humble labor, until God will grant me the grace to translate more into Danish, to Whom be given praise, thanks, honor and glory from all His creatures for time everlasting. Amen.

This psalter is rendered into
Danish by Christiern Pe[dersen],
who was canon in Lund,
and printed in Andorp
[in the] year after God's birth
MDXXXI

(Da: David's Psalter (i.e. Psalms), tr. by Christiern Pedersen, printed in Andorp [Antwerpen], 1531. Fol. Tvij<sup>v</sup> and Tviij<sup>r</sup>. Pedersen's views are especially significant, since he was also the chief translator of the Danish Bible.)

### References

- 11.1 Union and Disunion. See Schück et al. (1914-15); Hallendorff and A. Schück 1929: 74-117.
- is surveyed in Haugen and Markey (1972 a, b), sections 1.7, 2.7, 3.7 etc. Lists of sources: Brøndum-Nielsen GG 1. 40-9; see ref. for 10.2. Discussions: Skautrup 2. 9-27; Noreen ASG 11-16; Bergman 1968: 64-70; Indrebø NM 154-8; Skard 1967: 130-5. On Ic see Einarsson 1957: 76-83, 84-95; F. Jónsson 1898-1902: vol. 3; B. K. Þórólfsson (1934); Jón Þorkelsson (1888); M. Schlauch (1934); S. Karlsson (1963); J. Helgason (1936-8).
- 11.3 Phonology: Innovations in the Dialects. See 'Yngre Middeldansk' in Skautrup 2.46–51, Br-N GG 1.195–428, 2.72–406; 'Den yngre fornsvenskan' in Wessén Sspr 1.70–93; 'Millomnorsk' in Indrebø NM 219–42; Ic in Jóhannsson (1924). Basic studies of Da phonological history are Torp and Falk (1898) and Lis Jacobsen (1910); of Sw the massive Kock Ljh (1906–29). Da dialects are surveyed in Bennike and Kristensen (1898–1912), Nw in H. Christiansen (1946–8) and Kolsrud (1951), Sw in Wessén 1935. These need to be supplemented by numerous monographs on the individual dialects. SENw MSS: see special studies by Grøtvedt (1939, 1948, 1954, 1970), and for a summary of scribal practices in relation to speech 1970: 379–91. On the lowering of short u in Sw: Bucht (1924), Tydén (1925). On accent rules in Nw see Haugen (1965b, 1967); on the origins of accent Kock (1901), Kuryłowicz (1936) and the references in the text.
- 11.4 Grammar: From Synthesis to Analysis. There is no grammar or historical survey of Middle Sc, but see Indrebø NM 244-66, Seip-Saltveit 394-9, Wessén Sspr 1. 136-50, Skautrup 2. 52-61. Special studies of dialect morphologies and their origin are numerous, e.g. Ahlbäck (1946: nouns of FiSw), Huldén (1957-9: verbs of FiSw), Levander (1909: Älvdal), Janzén (1936: nouns of BoSw). Hesselman's studies (1911, 1931, 1948-53 etc.) are especially important. The basic study of gender is Tegnér (1892).
- 11.5 Lexicon. The Impact of MLG. See references for 10.6. The literature on MLG influence is large but not exhaustive; surveys by Wessén (1929), K. Wühren (1954) and T. Johannisson (1968) include full references to previous writings. Monographs not cited in the text are Tamm (1880) on Ger suffixes in Sw and (1887) on phonetic features of loanwords in Sw, Ljunggren (1945), Marquardsen (1908), and Holst (1903) on MLG influence in Da. The histories (e.g. Skautrup 2. 31–55) and the etymological dictionaries are indispensable. See Möckelmann (1968) on Ger loans in the Sw Bible translations of 1536.

- 11.6 The Rise of the Standard Languages. For Da see Lis Jacobsen
- (1910), for Sw G. Cederschiöld (1902); bibliography in Haugen (1968).

  11.7 Texts. Most of the Sw works mentioned in 11.2 are represented by selections in Ståhle (1968; Sveriges litteratur, Del I); the Da in Bertelsen (1905).

## Chapter 12

### Modern Times (1550 on): Modern Scandinavian

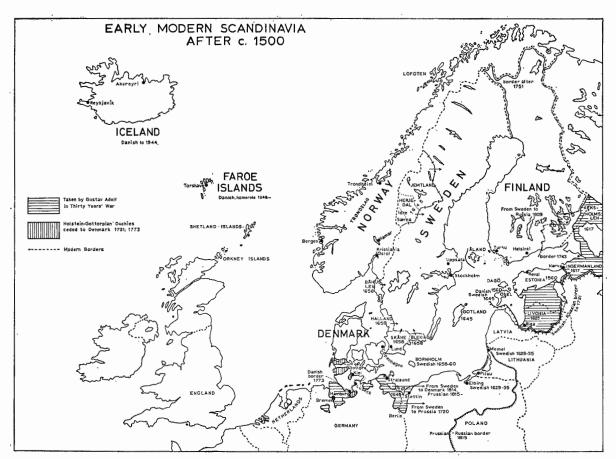
12.1 Language in War and Peace. The present-day image of Norden as a peaceful corner of Europe was anything but true in the centuries from 1560 to 1814. For two and a half centuries Denmark-Norway (which we will hereafter refer to as 'Denmark') and Sweden-Finland (i.e. 'Sweden') fought a series of intermittent wars over the hegemony of the North. The first Lutheran kings, Gustavus Vasa of Sweden and Christiern III of Denmark, were too busy establishing their personal power and transforming the Church to worry about external relations. But their sons and successors, Erik XIV (1560-8) and Frederik II (1559-88) were hot-headed young men who got themselves embroiled in rivalries over the domination of the Baltic coasts. In 1561 Sweden was invited to assume rule in Estonia. In 1563 the great Nordic Seven-Years' War broke out, which ended Danish hopes of restoring the Union. At the same time it involved these countries in conflicts with Poland and Russia, who were also contenders for Baltic power, not to forget Lübeck as a representative of the declining Hansa. A new war launched by Denmark in 1611 by the rash but enterprising Christian IV (1588-1648) was settled two years later by a stalemate that guaranteed northern Norway (Finnmark) to the Danish kingdom.

12.1.1. A new force entered the scene in the person of King Gustavus Adolphus (1611–32), who pursued an active policy of making Sweden a great power. He staved off Russia and in 1617 won concessions of Russian territory (Ingermanland). He fought Poland and in 1621 won control of Riga, the capital of Latvia. The efforts of the Austrian emperor to restore Catholicism in northern Europe, which resulted in the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), led to total defeat for Denmark in 1629. This event encouraged Sweden to step into the breach and take up the cause of Lutheranism (with the support of Catholic France!). King Gustavus lost his life in Germany in 1632,

but the war went on and ended with a peace that gave Sweden domination over large parts of northern Germany. Denmark was prostrate and had to yield Jämtland, Härjedalen, Gotland, Ösel and Halland to Sweden. A Danish attempt to reconquer these areas in 1647 ended disastrously with the peace of Roskilde (1658), which assigned Skåne, Blekinge, Halland, Bohuslän (Nw Båhuslen), Trøndelag and Bornholm to Sweden (Map 22). After still another war Trøndelag and Bornholm were returned to Denmark in 1660. A Danish attempt to get Skåne back failed in 1679 after four years of warfare.

Sweden was by this time a major European power, with allies in England and the Netherlands, and powerful enemies in Russia, Poland and Saxony, as well as her neighbor Denmark. Under the warrior king Charles XII (1697-1718) Swedish arms had some brilliant successes, but Charles met his match in the Russian czar Peter the Great. His defeat at Poltava in the Ukraine (1709) initiated a series of reverses that put an end to Swedish power. The death of Charles was followed by a peace (1720-1) that deprived Sweden of all her German and Baltic provinces (except Pomerania). Finland was constantly threatened, but remained Swedish until 1809, when Russia seized the country and made it a Grand Duchy within the Russian empire. The involvement of the Scandinavian nations in the Napoleonic wars was generally catastrophic. Sweden came out on top (after electing one of Napoleon's marshals, Bernadotte, as her crown prince), but both nations were seriously weakened by these wars. Sweden not only lost Finland, but also Pomerania, and the compensation promised her, Norway, was of little benefit. The Norwegians immediately (1814) declared their independence, and with British support were able to maintain their constitution within a dynastic union with Sweden. Denmark retained Norway's overseas possessions (Faroes, Iceland, Greenland), as well as Schleswig-Holstein, but lost her entire fleet to the British.

The treaty of Kiel in 1814 between Denmark and Sweden ended the last war between Scandinavians; since that time all issues have been settled peacefully. Borders have remained firm, except for the voluntary secessions of Norway from Sweden in 1905 and of Iceland from Denmark in 1944. The international role of Norden has changed from one of active participation to that of withdrawal and defense against outside aggression. Denmark was embroiled with Germany



Map 22

over Schleswig-Holstein in 1848–50 and again in 1864, when the whole duchy went to Germany. An equitable settlement was made by division of Schleswig into a Danish and a German part in 1920. Finland won its independence during the Russian revolution in 1917 and maintained it in bloody wars from 1939 to 1941. In World War II Denmark and Norway were occupied by the German Reich for five long years (1940–5), Iceland and Faroes by the British (and Americans), while Sweden remained an uneasy neutral. The problem for Scandinavia became one of survival amid huge power blocs, which they have tried to assure by active participation in such international bodies as the League of Nations and the United Nations.

12.1.2. The centuries since 1550 have seen a transformation of the Sc nations from largely agricultural pursuits to a mixed economy of agriculture, trade, shipping, mining and manufacturing. In the late Middle Ages such activities had mostly been in the hands of foreigners, but now they were increasingly undertaken by native or at least nativized entrepreneurs. The kings became active custodians of the national welfare, attempting to strengthen their power by encouraging the growth of trade and industry through a mercantilistic policy. New cities were founded, like Göteborg in 1603 (designed and fortified by the Dutch), as a port to give Sweden full access to the Atlantic, unhampered by Danish restrictions on traffic through the Sound. Gustavus Vasa imported Walloons to develop the Swedish mining industry, while Christiern II invited a colony of Dutchmen to Amager near Copenhagen to develop gardening. Sweden participated in the race for American colonies by establishing New Sweden on the Delaware in 1638, but lost it to the Dutch in 1655. In the eighteenth century Denmark acquired the Virgin Islands in the West Indies and established a flourishing trade with Asia and the East Indies. The Swedish iron industry developed new methods in the eighteenth century, and was in fact the only major industry in Scandinavia at this time. With the nineteenth century an active participation in the industrial development of Western Europe set in, encouraged above all from Britain, which furnished engineers and equipment for the first railroads.

The social and political consequences of these economic changes included the gradual transformation of Norden from feudalism to democracy, by way of a period of enlightened despotism in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1661 King Frederik III

restricted the privileges of the Da nobility, followed by the Sw Charles XI in 1680, thereby assisting in the rise of a bureaucratic and mercantile middle class. The French kings, with Louis XIV as the roi soleil, furnished the models for an absolutistic kingship that eventually led on to revolution and representative government. There were no revolutions in Scandinavia, but there was a gradual growth in power of the middle class, mediated in Sweden by the constitution of 1719-23, the rise of political parties, and the dominance of the estates through the Riksdag, culminating in the new constitution of 1800; in Denmark by the abolition of peasant villeinage in 1788, and adoption of a liberal constitution in 1848. Norway provided the first constitution in the spirit of the Revolution by its 1814 charter based on French and American models. The nineteenth century saw a growth of democracy through the awakening of farmers and workers to political awareness, which in the twentieth century brought them into the government via liberal and social-democratic parties.

12.1.3. Throughout the early centuries after the Reformation there was a severely religious aspect to Sc life, enforced by intolerant suppression of all non-Lutheran faiths. Lay preaching was specifically forbidden until the mid nineteenth century. The Lutheran Churches had a somewhat unclear doctrinal position right after their establishment, but in the seventeenth century this was hardened into an orthodoxy borrowed from the German Lutheran Church. Witches were hunted out and burned along with heretics who ventured to question the prevailing State religion. Reversion to Catholicism was feared; one ruler, Queen Christina, abdicated in 1654 rather than preside over a Lutheran State. In the eighteenth century a more enlightened current set in, owing to influence from France, especially under the Sw Gustavus III, patron of the arts and sciences. In 1786 he established the Swedish Academy, patterned on the French Academy, for the purpose of promoting the 'purity, strength and sublimity' of the Sw language. Science, literature and the arts flourished, and a school system was developed that gradually spread throughout the kingdoms, reaching down to the common man in city and country soon after 1800.

**12.1.4.** The effect of these developments on the official languages was to establish national standard languages as both the media and the subject matter of school systems, as shown earlier (Chapter 3). But at the time of the Reformation there was still a long way to go.

The language of learning continued to be Lat, and that of trade to be LG, well after this time. But the Sc languages did gradually become administrative languages in the entire realm, Sw in the Sw kingdom, Da in the Da kingdom, with some exceptions for the LG Schleswig-Holstein. Norway, the Faroes and Iceland were administered in Da, Finland in Sw, regardless of the native languages of these areas. The case of Skåne (with Halland and Blekinge) is especially interesting, since it was the object of a deliberate language policy, the first known to have been formulated in Sc. From 1658 to 1678 pastors and teachers were still largely Da and used Da books in their clerical activities. The University of Lund was founded in 1666, one reason being to develop a Swedish clergy for the new southern provinces. After the Scanian war in 1679 the Sw government became aware of the potential dangers of lingering Da loyalties and instituted a policy of 'uniformity' which authorized the exclusive use of Sw in churches and textbooks. By the end of the century, i.e. in one generation, 'the Swedish government had succeeded in instilling in the Scanians the belief that Swedish was the written language that naturally corresponded to their folk speech' (Fabricius 1958: 297). The change did not yet affect the speech of the Skåne peasants, whose dialects are Danish-colored to this day, but it did lead to the rise of a special SSw variety of standard Sw, with many phonetic and lexical features from the local substratum.

In the border area of S Jutland which belonged to the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, Da was also in retreat, though at a somewhat different tempo in official and private usage. At the time of the Reformation Da was spoken by the farming population as far south as the old Danevirke (near the town of Schleswig), except in the Frisian coastal strip to the west. LG was the language of the middle class and spread into the rural areas in a slow but sure northward advance (estimated at about ten miles per century), through a stage of bilingualism. By 1850 LG speech had captured most of Angel up to and including Flensburg. After 1600 the official language in the duchies had changed from LG to HG, so that now HG competed with Da in school and church, even in much of the Da-speaking area. Language did not become an issue until the nineteenth century, when it was first perceived as a national symbol. In the 1840s the Da government tried to stem the German tide by a pro-Da language policy. But it was too late; the German conquest of the duchies in 1864 and absorption of them into Prussia introduced a period of deliberate Germanization by the new government. German schools were gradually introduced even in the purely Da-speaking areas north of Flensburg, a policy that called forth protests from Danes at home and abroad and stimulated a vigorous movement for the preservation of Da in Schleswig. In 1920, after the defeat of Germany in World War I, this movement won its point through a plebiscite that brought back to Denmark most of the area where Da was still spoken. A border was drawn, which as far as possible reflected the speech situation, though no single line could do full justice to the complex linguistic relationships.

12.1.5. Sweden's political retrenchments in the east led to corresponding linguistic losses after 1809. Up to this time Finland had been ruled as a Sw colony, with little use of Fi except for sheer necessity; even when recruited from Fi stock, government officials used Sw as their medium. As shown by Deutsch (1953), the gradual entry of Fi speakers into national life by urbanization and education led to a step-by-step restriction of the use of Sw and a take-over by Fi. In 1871 Fi was admitted as a medium in the gymnasium. Today Fi pupils get all their education in Fi and since 1968 they need not take Sw before the seventh grade, while they may get Eng in the third (3.3 above). Although a number of leading families remained Sw, the process of reducing Sw to a second language was essentially completed by independence in 1917. Sw has a folk base mostly located in Nyland, Åland and Österbotten; elsewhere it has a middle-class base, which resists Finnicization only by cultural association with Sweden (Ahlbäck 1956).

Two eastern outposts of Sc speech were lost in the twentieth century by the dissolution of Estonian and Russian speech islands. Sw settlers were found in Estonia since early medieval times, and from 1645 to 1721 Sw kings ruled the country. In 1934 there were just over 7,000 Swedish speakers on the NW coast of Estonia, but the events of World War II led to their dispersal and resettlement in Sweden (except for a few hundred persons). One group had been settled in the Dnjepr region in 1782 by the Russian government at Gammal-svenskby, but these were resettled in Sweden in 1929. The dialects are of ESw type, with many colonial conservatisms and some borrowings from the host languages (N. Tiberg in Svensk Uppslagsbok (1955), vol. 32, pp. 938-41).

12.2 Sources and Studies. The trickle of printed books after the Reformation grew into such a flood by the nineteenth century that we can no longer list individual sources, unless they are of special importance. The spread of literacy also produced vast quantities of handwritten documents, some of which are preserved in various archives. For the first time, too, we have direct access to oral sources, in the form of firsthand observations by linguists, attempts at phonetic reproduction of speech, and in the twentieth century phonographic and tape-recorded speech, 'frozen' for the future. Intense research by specially trained, full-time linguists has given or can give us knowledge to any desired depth or breadth.

In this section we shall suggest some of the broad types of language that are documented, together with the language communities they represent: (1) foreign languages, (2) written languages, (3) spoken languages and (4) dialects.

12.2.1. Foreign languages continued to play a significant (though decreasing) role in Scandinavia. There were enclaves of foreign speakers, mostly Germans, who had immigrated in groups large enough to maintain their speech as a home and church language into the nineteenth century. These were mostly urban (Copenhagen, Stockholm, Bergen, Visby, etc.), though some were rural like the 'potato Germans' who were invited to cultivate the Jutland heaths in 1759 and maintained German sermons until 1870 (Skautrup 3. 64).

More important was the continued familiarity of Sc speakers with the major languages of wider communication: Latin, German, French and eventually English. Each of these corresponded to a sector of public life; Latin as the international language of learning, German (now in its HG form) as a language of administration and economic privilege, French as the language of fashion and diplomacy, English as the language of the industrial revolution. Latin was the only language accepted at the universities until after 1780 and it took nearly a century before it was wholly replaced by the native language. In Copenhagen the turning point came in the 1830s, when the first catalogs, dissertations and public addresses in Da were permitted.

German had a much greater share in public life. Not only were several of the kings and queens German-speaking, but in Denmark the native nobility was often thrust aside in favor of German immigrants. The Da government was dominated in the mid eighteenth century by such powerful figures as the German-born statesmen

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A. G. Moltke, J. F. Struensee and A. P. Bernstorff, who were either unable or unwilling to learn Da and issued most of their orders in Ger. A fourth Ger church was established in Copenhagen in 1759. But after Struensee's fall in 1773 the language of the army became Da; and after 1776 only Danish-born persons could hold public office. Copenhagen continued to have a large contingent of German speakers, including a colony of literary visitors like the famous writers Klopstock and Gerstenberg. From seventeenth-century Stockholm it is reported that 'children said grace in German, psalm books in German were used and on signboards of the time could be read: "Här säljes Swediskt Bijr" and "Gut Wein verkaufft man hijr." (Skogekär Bergbo, Källquist 1934: 275). Every educated speaker learned HG, and it is not surprising that Ger words and phrases slipped into the speech and writings of the time. A turning point came in the early nineteenth century, when a current of national self-assertion set in.

French played only a minor role as a spoken language, but was fashionable in the eighteenth century in the diplomatic service as well as in the upper bourgeoisie. Da and Ger speakers alike paid homage to Fr by employing teachers of Fr and conducting their correspondence in Fr. In his comedies Holberg satirized the Danes' love of French in the person of Jean de France alias Hans Frandsen, who returns from a short stay in Paris unable to speak his native tongue without mixing in French phrases. Holberg also lampooned the pedantic speaker of Latin in Erasmus Montanus and the use of German in such figures as Jacob von Thyboe or even the peasant Jeppe. Eng was still little known; Eng writers were generally read in Ger translations. After the Eng attacks of 1801 and 1807 Eng was unpopular in Denmark. It was not until after 1870 that Eng began to win some of the position it has today (5.3), as the events of 1864 cooled Sc enthusiasm for Ger.

The Da writer Wilster summed up the situation around 1700 in a poem of tribute to Holberg published in 1827 (Digtninger):

Hver Mand, som med Kløgt gik i Lærdom til Bund, Latin paa Papiret kun malte, med Fruerne Fransk, og Tysk med sin Hund, og Dansk med sin Tjener han talte. Each man who drank deeply of wisdom—

On paper he only wrote Latin; With the ladies French, and German with his dog,

And Danish he spoke with his servant.

- 12.2.2. The written languages showed a steady growth in their domains of use from a rather modest position at the time of the Reformation to complete dominance in the nineteenth century. Translations from Latin and German were important in compelling writers to find native equivalents for lacking expressions, and so (in Baden's words) 'raise the mother tongue to the dignity, nobility, strength, charm and euphony of the original' (Introduction to his translation of Horace 1792). King Gustavus Adolphus ordered a program of translations in 1622 of books 'from which many and especially our youth... may get good guidance, learning and instruction' (Källquist 1934: 230). Then as always translators were often slavishly dependent on their originals, which made some of their products little better than glosses. But their work helped to make knowledge of the foreign languages unnecessary for the average person, enabling him to gain an education through his native tongue alone. They laid the basis for a native production in every field of writing.
- (a) The old laws (10.2.2) of Denmark and Sweden continued to function, but were gradually replaced by newer ones after the Reformation. The major Da law was Christian V's Danske Lov of 1683, in an orthography that showed admirable consistency. In Sw Magnus Eriksson's Landslag (1347) was slightly revised in 1442 and was printed in 1608 as Swerikes Rijkes Landzlagh. In 1734 this was combined with the much more modernized City Law (Stadslagen) in a new national law code, Sweriges Rikes Lag. The style in this law was kept archaic, but simple and concise, much like the old laws because it was still intended to be read aloud in courts where few could read (Wessén 1965a: 37). Although most of it has virtually been rewritten into a more modern, legalistic style, more like that of the chancery style, it is still the basic law of Sweden.

The Nw constitution of 1814 declared unequivocally that the language of the government should be 'Norwegian', a term that was to raise questions in view of its wholly Danish character. But the names adopted for the new parliament and its divisions were conscious revivals of the OSc ping (DN thing > ting): Odelsting for the lower house, Lagting for the upper, and Storting for the whole institution. In the Da constitution of 1849 there was also concern for eliminating Latin terminology, with Folketing and Landsting for the houses, but the German-influenced Rigsdag was retained for the parliament itself. The new Da constitutions of 1915 and 1953 provided slight

modernizations of terminology, such as the replacement of Rigs-dag(en) by Folketinget, international by mellemfolkelig, krigsmagten war forces by forsvarsmagten defense forces, etc.

- (b) A central archive for Da government documents was established in Copenhagen in 1582, as the mass of papers began to accumulate. Most of these are unpublished, but a few diplomataria from the modern period have appeared. Collections of letters by distinguished persons are also available in print, e.g. Queen Elizabeth, wife of Christiern II, whose interesting orthography was mentioned earlier, and King Christian IV's correspondence. Da cadastral rolls from 1688 and land surveys from 1703 provide invaluable information for place-name research. Pastors were required to keep church records from 1645, which provide materials for research on personal names. The pastors were also frequently called on for other linguistic information that is now deposited in the archives.
- (c) The writing of history was more than a private scholarly enterprise, for it became the first duty of royal historiographers appointed by the kings to contribute to the glory of the new kingdoms. In Denmark Saxo Grammaticus's History of Denmark was published in 1514 and translated in 1575, but the first original history was Arild Huitfeldt's Danmarchis Rigis Krøniche (1603). Norwegian humanists published such books as Absalon Pedersen's Om Norgis Rige (1567), which deplored the political abasement of Norway, and Peder Claussøn's translation of Snorri Sturluson's History of the Kings of Norway (1633), which became the base of Norwegian patriotic stirrings in later centuries.

The Sw reformer Olaus Petri prepared an ambitious history of his country (En swensk cröneka, c. 1540), which was so objective that King Gustavus was displeased and suppressed it. A more popular history, in Lat, by Johannes Magnus (1554), provided the Swedes with a fictitious genealogy right back to Gog and Magog in the Old Testament. In the seventeenth century, during Sweden's time as a Great Power, the glorification of homeland reached its apotheosis in the work of Professor Olaus Rudbeck (1630–1702), whose four-volume Atland, eller Manheim (1679–1702) proposed to demonstrate that all languages were derived from Sw and that Sweden was the fabled Atlantis of Plato. These fantasies persisted until they were laughed out of court by Olof Dalin, a writer of the eighteenth-century enlightenment. In Denmark the seventeenth century produced only

one historical work of interest, the personal memoir by Lady Leonora Christine, *Jammers minde* (Memory of Distress), written 1674-85, and notable for its reproduction of spoken Da.

In return Denmark (and Norway) in the eighteenth century could boast of the most productive and modern Sc historian down to that time, Ludvig Holberg, professor and playwright, whose *Dannemarks Riges Historie* in three volumes (1732–5) was only one of his many historical writings.

- (d) Religious literature followed naturally in the wake of the official Bible translations, which were rarely available to the laity. Books of sermons (postiller), hymnaries, altar services, catechisms and Bible stories were instruments for the inculcation of the new doctrine. Original hymns appeared alongside translated ones, with men like the Da Thomas Kingo (1634–1703) and H. A. Brorson (1694–1764) and the Sw Johan Olof Wallin (1779–1839) among the greatest writers. These and their successors were able to establish the Lutheran Church as a force in the development of religious sentiment. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries new Bible translations were prepared, both official and private ones, which often departed quite far from the earlier Reformation versions.
- (e) One of the pressing needs after the Reformation was for text-books in practical arts and medicine, which could help to raise the standard of living for the new readership. Christiern Pedersen wrote the first Da leechbook (1533), which is valuable for its nearly 350 plant names. He also published the first Latin-Danish dictionary (1510), with some 13,000 Latin words translated into Danish. While the natural sciences flourished in the seventeenth century, the language of great scientists like the Da Tycho Brahe and the Sw Swedenborg was Lat, and they only incidentally contributed to the development of Sc (e.g. Linnæus, when he wrote his travel accounts). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Sc scientists have participated in the international work of all sciences, writing usually in Ger (before World War I) or Eng and Fr. But they have also written in their native tongues, and have made it possible to reproduce any major work of science in these languages.
- (f) One of the most important means for spreading the printed word to the people has of course been the *press* in all its forms. The older broadsides were replaced by regular news sheets in the seventeenth century: Den danske Mercurius (1666-77) and Extraordinaire

maanedlige Relationer (from 1672); but there were no important newspapers until the eighteenth century, when the later Berlingske Tidende started in Copenhagen (1749), Norske Intelligenz-Seddeler (1763) in Trondheim and Stockholms Posten in Stockholm (1778). Olof von Dalin's Then Swänska Argus (1732-4) brought a Spectator-type of journalism to Sweden. By 1800 several specialized periodicals were started, and the enormous expansion of journalism in all fields followed.

(g) One of the favorite topics of the early journals was literary criticism, in an age when politics was dangerous. Creative literature was rare in the century immediately after the Reformation, most popular books of entertainment being translations (the so-called 'folk books'). In Denmark medieval ballads were written down in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and published by Vedel in 1591, and by Peder Syv in 1695; elsewhere mostly in the nineteenth century. The chief genre of the sixteenth century was the school comedies imitated from Latin. The most notable writer of the seventeenth-century baroque was probably the Nw pastor Petter Dass (1647-1708), whose descriptive poem Nordlands Trompet (Trumpet of Nordland) was finally published in 1739 and proved to be extremely popular. Norway also furnished Denmark with the previously mentioned Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), whose comedies were in the vein of Molière, but closer to the everyday scene. He wrote in every genre of his day except lyric poetry. With the Da Oehlenschläger (1779-1850), the Sw Tegnér (1782-1846), and the Nw Wergeland (1808-45) each of the countries entered the period of Romanticism, in which the lyric was central. The nineteenth century produced a classic flowering in such writers as the Da Kierkegaard and H. C. Andersen, the Nw Bjørnson and Ibsen, the Sw Strindberg and Lagerlöf, to name only a few. In the twentieth century creative literature has followed the mainstream of world letters, to which Sc writers have made notable contributions, e.g. the DN Sigrid Undset, NN Tarjei Vesaas, Sw Pär Lagerkvist, Da Johannes V. Jensen and M. Andersen-Nexøe, the Ic Gunnar Gunnarsson and Halldór Kiljan Laxness.

12.2.3. Spoken languages, in the sense of standardized norms that transcended the local dialects, probably did not come into being much before 1700. Grammarians began giving advice on 'good language' in the sixteenth century (11.6.2(1)), but largely following classi-

cal models. Personal letters (Queen Elizabeth, King Gustavus, Hemming Gadh, see 11.6.2(2)) and direct quotations in legal documents and memoirs show that even the highest circles of society still used broad and earthy dialect in their speech. The authority of Sjælland and specifically of Copenhagen as the center of the best Da is repeatedly emphasized in seventeenth-century grammarians. The writer of Prosodia Danica (1640, printed 1671), Søren Poulsen Gotlænder, warned against 'coarse and common peasant speech' and recommended 'pure and refined (siirlig) Danish' such as was used in Siælland by learned persons, the Danish 'in which our books are printed'. It is clear that this form of speech was to be based on writing. The ideal then as later was a spelling pronunciation based on the written norm, essentially the pronunciation used when reading aloud. It was to be the dialect of a literate community, where persons of high culture and social importance spoke to one another in a form that no longer called attention to their regional or social origins. The author admonished speakers to use only the word dreng for 'boy' and to eschew such regionalisms as Nw gut, Sk paag, Gu sorck, Øsel-Sw pois, Jy baan or bar. This centralization, for which classical models were adduced, reflects the political aspirations of the government in a century of autocracy.

(a) By 1700 there is good reason to think that Copenhagen and Stockholm had developed a social differentiation that could be expressed in linguistic varieties. There was a 'best' language recommended by the grammarians as a dialectus communis, which was surely limited to highly formal occasions, e.g. sermons, court rituals or lectures, when these were not in Lat or Ger. But even the most prestigious persons could hardly have used it in daily speech: instead, a colloquial standard was developing, which marked the upper class, at least those members of it who spent their lives in urban centers. Even the grammarians who were now busy giving rules for good pronunciation display some strongly regional features, e.g. Pontoppidan from FyDa, Gerner, Syv, and Moth from SjDa. The sector of the population concerned with the 'best language' was still very small, certainly less than five percent. The ordinary tradesman and worker in the cities spoke a local urban dialect, the peasant-farmer a local rural dialect.

By the end of the eighteenth century the Da and Sw norms of speaking were well established, but not until the nineteenth were

they extended to the entire people through the schools. The new literacy did not at once mean a change in speech, only that a basis of passive knowledge of the written norm was established throughout the population. Everyone now knew that there was a norm which an educated, urbanized speaker could adopt, even though his schooling might not have prepared him adequately to do so. The university did not recognize a Sc language as a worthy discipline until N. M. Petersen was made professor of Sc at the University of Copenhagen in 1845. But the main factor in spreading a spoken norm was of course the nineteenth- and twentieth-century communications revolution, when voluntary organizations drew people out of their local isolation into participation in national life, and technology developed the mushrooming means of mobility, from railroads to jet planes. As the norm spread from more limited and formal use to mass use, its forms inevitably changed in the direction of the popular base.

(b) The realization that a gap existed between the written and the spoken language led to grammarians' disputes over which should be the model: Pontoppidan followed Scaliger in advocating that one should write as one spoke, while Gerner cited Quintilian to prove that one should speak as one wrote (see reading 12.7Aa). In later centuries this dispute has never entirely died, since there have been trends in both directions, one calling for keeping the written norm constant and teaching the young to speak accordingly, and one calling for reforms in the written norm to keep within reasonable distance of speech. The latter view, as advocated, e.g., by Rask in Denmark, became the basis of the 'discovery' of standard DN by Knud Knudsen (1856), a cultivated speech norm that had grown up under the ægis of Da writing, but was now a Nw norm that cried out for a spelling of its own.

Information on standard pronunciation begins to appear in the seventeenth century, e.g. in Moth's extensive Da materials (1680–1719), but in the eighteenth century there is a really rich source of knowledge in the works of Jens Høysgaard on Da (1743–69). Beginning with the nineteenth century and the development of professional linguists like Rasmus Rask, there is increasing clarity concerning the nature of speech. A busy production of grammars and dictionaries makes it possible to follow speech into the present, at least in its broad outlines.

12.2.4. The dialects were gradually restricted to local use and became

characteristic of the stable rural population, which had few opportunities for contact outside their villages or parishes.

- (a) Each dialect was a regular development from CSc, though it also reflected continual contact with and borrowing from its immediate neighbors. At no time would it be correct to suppose that the dialects were stagnant or unchanging (as suggested by Skautrup 2. 190); their conservatism was due to the relative isolation of their speakers, but the isolation was never absolute. No one dialect retained all the features of CSc or OSc, and all show innovations in relation to one another. The cleavage between rural speech and the nationally valid written and spoken norms was interpreted by most writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the result of a degeneration on the part of 'vulgar' speakers. In 1787 one Nødskov wrote about the dialect of Thim in Jutland that it was 'a corrupted pronunciation of the Da language, incredibly deformed'. This unhistorical view was shared right down to modern times by many school teachers who were called upon to uproot the 'errors' of their pupils, i.e. dialectal deviations from the new standards. Another, more humanistic view, was also expressed, at least as far back as 1749, when the Da Erik Pontoppidan published a Glossarium Norvagicum of Norwegian idioms, which he recommended as a means of 'enlightening and improving the common language', in this case Da. A number of observers in the late eighteenth century and especially writers of the Romantic nineteenth century discovered that the dialects were 'purer' and often more expressive than the urbanized official language.
- (b) This view led to the study and collection of materials on the dialects, conceived (like folk ballads, folk music, folk art) as a national resource. They were often contrasted with the foreign models previously so greatly favored, e.g. by the Da Henrik Scharling in 1867: 'Here are the gold mines, from which the cultivated language shall fetch its treasures, instead of asking for loans from abroad' (Skautrup 3. 159). Before 1800 dialect materials were usually collected as curiosities and used for amusement, in the hands of speakers or writers who were marking their superiority to the lower classes. Growing social mobility, encouraged, e.g., by the abolition of villeinage in Denmark and the reapportionment of land (c. 1800), brought the rural population increasingly into contact with the urban. Those who were born with a dialect and became members of the educated

class had the bilingual's usual problems of alternately adapting and asserting themselves. The Da author Blicher even went so far as to write a small book of sketches in Jy dialect *E Bindstouw* (1842), thereby introducing what was to become a popular genre. More important was the deliberate collection of dialect materials, at first chiefly vocabulary, as in C. Molbech's dialect dictionary of 1841 (*Dansk Dialect-Lexikon*). In an 1811 essay on the dialects Molbech, who believed strongly in the sacredness of the standard norm, nevertheless advocated the study of the dialects to determine 'the ancient roots of the language' and so contribute to 'a characterization of the peculiar nature and spirit of the language' (Skautrup 3. 90).

(c) The realization that the dialects were the living descendants of OSc came with the new historical view of language that developed in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The Da linguist Rasmus Rask made basic contributions to this discovery by his OIc grammar of 1811 and his prize essay on the origin of 'the Old Nordic or Icelandic language' of 1814 (published 1818). Ivar Aasen was inspired to his survey of Nw dialects by the idea that these were the scattered fragments of the ONw language lost at the time of the union with Denmark. He produced the first dialect grammar (of his own Sm dialect) in 1843 and the first overall dialect grammar (1848) and dictionary (1850). The possibilities for analyzing a dialect as a language in its own right were first exploited by K. J. Lyngby, who not only showed the connection between ODa in the Jutland Law and the JyDa of his day (1863), but also developed the first phonetic alphabet of Sc in his grammar of SJyDa (1858). A. Noreen's monograph (1877) on the dialect of Fryksdal (VärmSw) was epoch-making as the first neogrammarian study of a Sc dialect. This was followed by the work of J. A. Lundell, who in 1878 founded the periodical Svenska Landsmålen and in 1879 published his proposal for a Sw phonetic alphabet. In Norway A. B. Larsen and Johan Storm were following up Aasen's early lead by developing a more professional and scientific approach to the dialects, Larsen by his monographs (1881 ff.) and Storm by his phonetic alphabet (1884).

The work of these early scholars was continued and institutionalized in the twentieth century by the creation of professorships at Sc universities in dialectology and the establishment of archives for dialect research. The work was given special urgency by the realization after 1900 that education and social mobility (which is depopulating the

countryside) was gradually dissolving the dialects and replacing them with new varieties of the standard language (as studied, e.g., by Björseth (1946)).

(d) The popular notions of dialect division are based on subjective judgments of familiarity and intelligibility, which are then identified with traditional or administrative divisions. Such divisions have had their influence, but in most cases they are also secondary to the basic patterns of communication, especially in Norway and Sweden. The realization of dialectologists that each innovation (phonological, morphological, lexical) has its own isogloss makes it hazardous indeed to set up dialect boundaries. There is rarely what A. B. Larsen called 'dead transition', i.e. a sharp break; everywhere there are living transitions, which reflect the fact that neighbors learn something, but not everything, from each other. Each dialect is a bundle of isoglosses in its own specific pattern. This applies, of course, equally to the national languages of Scandinavia, which are only dialects standardized in modern times.

The major dialect regions (4.2) are therefore constructs, based on selected isoglosses that serve as shibboleths between areas generally felt to be distinct, at least in their cores. There have been differences of opinion on such divisions. Aasen (1864) divided Nw into northern (Trøndelag and Nordland), western and southern (i.e. ENw) dialects. A. B. Larsen (1897) combined the northern and southern into an eastern (ostnorsk) to give a binary division into WNw and ENw, based on the (not quite coinciding) isoglosses of cacuminal ! (11.3.20) and vowel balance (11.3.10(1)). Kolsrud (1951) classified NNw as a WNw dialect, but H. Christiansen (1954) set it off as a separate dialect, coequal with Trøndelag, Eastern Norway and Western Norway. More recently Bandle (1967) has shown by a combination of lexical, morphological and phonological isoglosses that Norway can be divided into eleven overlapping 'primary speech areas', which in turn fall into the two dimensions of north vs. south and east vs. west, of which the last is the most important.

Lundell (1880) divided Sw dialects into a southern group, essentially the old Da dialects plus Småland, a northern group including Dalarna, Västmanland and everything north and east of these, with a large middle group that included all the rest. Hesselman (1905) showed the importance of the Uppland region and identified a part of the 'middle' group as uppsvenska, with many relationships to the

northern and eastern dialects. The ESw of Finland was shown by V. Jansson (1942) to be an entity of its own, dependent on lines of communication with UppSw and NSw dialects located opposite them. The now generally accepted division (Wessén) into SSw, Göta dialects, Svea dialects, NSw, ESw and Gutnish raises many problems, e.g. the position of Dalarna or Värmland and other WSw dialects. Important studies have been made of transitional areas, such as N. Lindqvist (1947) on what he calls 'Southwest Sw', bounded by a NW–SE line from the Nw border to the Baltic, where continental influences from Denmark met a counter-current from the UppSw region, a culture area between the old Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Småland was, as he calls it in one article (1943), a 'linguistic battleground', as of course it was also at times a military battleground.

The division of the Da dialects is based on the geographical sections, with Jutland, the Islands and the Swedish Provinces (Skåne, Halland, Blekinge) plus Bornholm as WDa, CDa and EDa (Skautrup 4. 97–139). The major isoglosses are the word for 'I' (a|jx|ja), unstressed vowels  $(-\emptyset/-e/-a)$  and old postvocalic stops  $(v\partial g/wj\emptyset/bdg)$ , respectively. There is a fairly sharp boundary between the old duchy of Slesvig (SJy) and Jutland proper (NJy) (Ringgaard 1971). Within NJy there is a division between a WJy area with glottalized geminate stops, preposed def. art. and loss of gender distinction, and an EJy area without these features. The Islands have an isogloss down the middle of Fyn, while the southern islands lack the glottal catch of Da as well as the tonal accent of SJy. In EDa there are differences between Bornholm and Skåne, while Skåne itself is divided into a SW area with Da influence (Ingers 1939) and a NE area which is closer to Sw (Sjöstedt 1944).

Ic and Fa have some dialect differences; the Ic ones are minor (Benediktsson 1961-2), the Fa somewhat greater (between N and S), on which see Werner (1965).

(e) The growth of cities produced a new kind of differentiation in speech, which was socially *vertical* instead of the *horizontal* variation of the rural regions. The major growth of population resulted from migration into the cities by rural workers. These brought with them their dialects, which were not necessarily those of the immediate environment of the city. They formed a mixed and often mobile proletariat, whose speech became a *lingua franca* between the rural dialects and the standard language of the educated. The discovery of

this 'vulgar' speech as a lower-class urban norm was late in the history of scholarship, so that it is difficult to document it much farther back than 1800. Many samples were presented in the writings of authors who wished to lend realism to their portrayals of lower- or middleclass characters (Skautrup 3. 217-9, 226-30; 4. 110-11, 154-6). Scientific study of the urban dialects was first undertaken by the Nw A. B. Larsen for Oslo (1907), Bergen (with Stoltz, 1911-12), and Stavanger (with Berntsen, 1925) and by Reitan in Røros (1932), followed in Sw by Gjerdman for the cities of Sörmland (1918, 1927), Ingers for Lund (1957), Björseth for Göteborg (1958) and Bucht for Härnösand (1962). in Da by K. M. Olsen for Aabenraa (1949). The last-named study confirms the observation made by Reitan, that in comparison with the surrounding rural dialects, urban communities show a simplification and leveling of forms that presumably reflects the mutual adjustment of a new community. A sociolinguistic study in depth of the correlation between linguistic features and social class is still to be done, but may be expected from the Talsyntax project at the University of Lund under the direction of Bengt Loman.

Even when the dialects have been given up as such, they form a substratum to the regional standards; they have served as resources for the enrichment of these standards, and as devices to writers for giving local color and authenticity to their descriptions. For their speakers they have sometimes been a handicap, e.g. when facing speakers from other regions or when being required in school to learn the standard; at other times a source of pride, e.g. when asserting their identity or enjoying their local in-group. Mostly they have been just the plain, everyday speech of most Scandinavians through history (Skautrup 4.93–7; N. Å. Nielsen 1959).

12.3 Phonology (see also 11.3). The standard languages show few innovations in this period and are mostly characterized by restorations, which often are based on the spelling, especially in the consonant system.

#### A. Stress

12.3.1. As noted earlier (10.6.14), the rule of stress on the tonic syllable was broken by some of the loanwords adopted. While Da and DN were quite strict in maintaining the stress of the original language, Sw allowed some to be shifted, e.g. pa'radis paradise, kre'atur

cattle, kånn'jak cognac, by'rå bureau. Phrasal verbs like gå ut, kom inn were stressed on the adverb, but in colloquial ENw on the verb (with Tone 2). Prefixes vacillated in their stress pattern, e.g. Da had undgå' avoid, fremfø're advance, indrøm'me admit c. 1700, but later shifted to stressing the prefix. Some compound place-names, especially those in -holm, -havn, -borg preceded by one or two syllables, were stressed on the second member, e.g. Bornholm' (but Stock'holm), København' Copenhagen (but Ny'havn), Hälsingborg' (but Kron'borg), Karlskro'na (but Ka'rlstad), Kristiansund' (but Å'lesund), Helsingfors' (but Hø'nefoss).

#### **B. Vowel Systems**

- 12.3.2. (1) Qualitative changes. (a) Short vowels. In Da the lowering of old high vowels i y u remained unmarked in the spelling, which led to extensive but irregular restoration, e.g. kirke church > [kergə] and popularly even [kærgə], but was now restored to [kirgə]; likewise skik custom, bygge build, busk bush, etc. Shortened vowels usually retained their quality, e.g. lidt [lit] a little, hedt [het] hot n., hos [hos] at. The mid short vowels e ø o were irregularly lowered, but less often restored; before r they were regularly lowered. In diphthongs they were still further lowered: ej > [aj], oj > [aj]. (b) Long vowels. In Da these remained, except that  $\bar{e}$   $\bar{o}$  were lowered to  $\hat{x}$   $\hat{a}$  in some words, e.g. bæst beast, sprog [språ?g] language, råb call. Lengthened a was shifted forward, popularly even to x [x], except in contact with r. In Sw the opposite trend took place, with  $\bar{a}$  shifted backward: Sw gata [gpta] vs. Da gade [gæðə]. This and the other upward shifts of the Sw back vowels led to a marked allophonic difference between long and short a and u. The long a absorbed lengthened o, which had a distinct quality down into the nineteenth century (written oh by Columbus 1672), leading to confusion of their spellings. Etymological spellings of old o are found in Sw sova sleep, konung king, folk people, while phonetic spellings are found in bage bow (NN boge), fagel bird (Da Nw fugl), råtta rat (Da Nw rotte).
- (2) Quantitative changes. Da vowel quantity became highly unpredictable after the reduction of geminate consonants and the irregular restoration of length in monosyllables (11.3.8). Length in Da is partially dependent on the quality of the following consonant or the presence of *stod*, and there are socially determined tendencies to shorten or

lengthen vowels arbitrarily, leading (as we are told by Diderichsen 1957) even to occasional confusion of such minimal pairs as binde [benə] tie and bene [bēnə] straight pl. or hedde [heðə] be named and hede [hēðə] heath. Wherever consonants have been restored from earlier semivowels (below), vowel length has also tended to be reintroduced (egen [æiən] > [ēgən] own). Vowels are usually short before old geminates, but irregularly long in words like sjette sixth and otte eight. In Sw (and Nw) quantity has been relatively stable; one modern change (also in part Da) has been the trend towards establishing short vowels plus geminate stops before syllabic -r (> -er): e.g. CSc bitr bitter, vakr handsome, fētr feet, bēkr books > Da Nw Sw bitter, Da Nw vakker/Sw vacker, Da fødder/Nw føtter/Sw fötter, but Da bøger/Nw bøker vs. Sw böcker. The Sw change from föter to fötter is reflected within the 1541 Bible itself.

(3) Unstressed vowels. A Da tendency to merge unstressed vowels in new loanwords (titule're > tittele're entitle, absolut' > abselut absolute) has been counteracted in cultivated speech. The Sw tendency to merge -or with -er (flickor > flicker girls) and to drop final syllables in words like kasta(de) threw, or optionally before other words (den yngst' af desse the youngest of these, common in seventeenth-century verse) has been checked and to some extent reversed, at least in careful speech. Syncopated forms of commonly used dissyllables have become normal in speech: har (for haver) has, blir (for bliver) becomes, tar (for tager) takes, rår (for råder) rules, far (for fader) father, Sw nån/Nw noen (for någon/nogen) any, sa (for Sw sade/Da DN sagde) said. In Nw these were adopted (after 1907) as sole forms, while in Sw and Da they have remained informal alternates in writing (though har is now universal).

#### C. Consonant Systems

12.3.3. (1) Spirants and stops. Lost  $\eth$  was restored (11.3.15) as d before i or r in Da (fyllig > fyldig full, inre > indre inner) and after r in some words (myrde murder, verden the world), after and between vowels as  $\eth$  (written d), e.g. ved by, hvad what, tråd thread. In Sw it was commonly restored by 1700, as d (the spelling dh disappears by 1720), in more positions than in Da, e.g. Da gård [gå?R]/Sw gård [gåd], see below. In Da the spirants and semivowels in postvocalic position (10.5.5) were variously pronounced in the dialects, but the

standard established b dg as the writing for most of those derived from p t k. Of these b was restored as a stop (as in Sk and SNw), making pronunciations with w colloquial or vulgar (e.g. tabe lose, not tawe); the others were pronounced as spirants  $\tilde{\sigma}$  and g, not as j or w (e.g. gade [gade] street not [gaje], dag [dag] day not [daw]).

- (2) Consonant clusters. Da DN and Sw continued to spell hj and hv (hw) long after the h was gone; Sw changed hv to v in 1906. The h survived before w into the seventeenth century in Sw (Hiärne was indignant at speakers who dropped it because of the 'mixture of people in Stockholm' and found them 'weak and unmanly'). According to Hof (1772) the w was still bilabial after consonants (Wessén Sspr 1. 167). After sn and sl the glide j was lost in Sw in the eighteenth century:  $sni\ddot{o} > sn\ddot{o}$  snow, sliunga > slunga sling. Clusters of ld nd rd remained unassimilated in Sw, contrary to Da (and many Sw dialects).
- (3) Palatal affricates. (a) Initial palatalization retreated and disappeared in Da cultivated speech by the late eighteenth century, but the writing of -j- was not officially given up until 1889 (kjende > kende know, giore > gore do). In Sw and Nw on the contrary the palatalization reached its third stage (11.3.18a) with the merger of gj/j, kj/tj, skj/stj/sj, and consequent spelling confusion from the seventeenth century on, some of which was reflected in the later norms, e.g. Sw jänta (DN jente/NN gjenta) girl, Sw tjusa charm (from OSw kjusa choose), kärv tart (CSc bjarfr > MSw tiärf). (b) Medial palatalization. In SSw GöSw CSw -(g)gj- and -(k)kj- the -j- is lost early, but in written Sw it persists into the eighteenth century. In Nw it was still common in the sixteenth century in the ENw area that has since lost it (Hovda 1956). After vowels g is commonly restored in Da (above), but not before consonants (regn [Rain] rain, nogle [nailo] key, nor in the pronouns jeg [jai] I, mig [mai] me etc. (DN [jæi], [mæi])). After r and  $l \operatorname{Sw}_{\mathcal{E}} > j$  (as in many ENw dialects), while in Nw it > g (as in FiSw), hence e.g. Norge Nw [nar'ga]/Sw [når'jə] Norway, talg Nw [talg]/Sw [talj] tallow.
- (4) Palatalized apicodentals. Palatalized  $l_{i}l_{i}n_{i}n_{i}$ , were still common in Da in the seventeenth century (a Spanish grammarian identified them with his own  $ll\ \tilde{n}$ ), but disappeared by 1700. In Nw spellings like *eild* for *eld* fire from the seventeenth century in SENw show that palatalization must have retreated northwards since that time (Hovda 1956: 69).

(5) Retroflex apicals. The 'thick' or cacuminal l was part of colloquial standard Sw according to the testimony of observers like the Sw grammarians Samuel Columbus (1678, ed. 1963), and Sven Hof (1753) and the Sw Academy (1801), but it was discouraged in the highest circles ('courtiers have weaker tongues' according to Columbus, who used hl as a special symbol for it). Some time in the nineteenth century it disappeared entirely from Stockholm usage. It was also eliminated in cultivated DN, except as an expressive, lower-class variant of l. Occasional writing of l for rd is found in Sw, e.g. spool for spord fishtail (five times in Gustav Vasa's Bible 1541), and some of these confusions found their way into the later norm where rd was generally restored in writing and pronunciation: i fjol last year (Da Nw SSw i fjor, OSw i fjordh), stel/DN støl stiff (CSc stirðr, NN styrd), hin håle the devil (OSw hin hardhe), Nw Svelvik (ONw Sverðvík) place-name. The retroflex clusters remained in use both in Stockholm and Oslo, though they were often avoided in public declamation, e.g. of poetry, and in some words (e.g. DN verden [vær'dn] the world vs. Sw världen [væ'den]).

While the retroflex apicals spread south to the border of the old Da territory and west to the Nw mountains, they were met by a northwards thrust of a new, uvular pronunciation of r, with which they were essentially incompatible (see Map 19). Uvular r. here written [R] either as a trill or a fricative, was not a new phoneme, only a new, velar pronunciation which replaced the old tongue-trilled or fricative apical. It did not affect either the writing or the meaning, but became an important social shibboleth; wherever it appeared, it seems to have begun in urban environment and spread from city to country. The evidence of the grammarians makes it quite certain that it was heard in Copenhagen by 1780 (N. A. Nielsen 1951: 62), but that it was unknown much before 1750. It spread from the Sound region west into the Da islands and east into SSw, where speakers with apical r could still be found in modern times in remote areas like Jutland and Småland. It crossed the Skagerrak into SNw, capturing all the coastal towns from Tvedestrand west to Bergen, with varying bits of adjacent rural hinterland (including a speech island in Inner Hardanger). In Sw it stopped at the retroflex border, except that it jumped into Götaland and EVärmland in the special 'Göta rule' form of affecting only initial and geminated r (rar [Rar] nice, värre [væRRə] worse). The suggestion that [R] was a spontaneous Sc innovation,

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- originating in Skåne (Sjöstedt 1936, Nielsen 1951, Skautrup 2. 345) is patently improbable. Its European distribution points clearly to an urban origin and to spread in modern times via the routes of trade. In spite of Jespersen's scorn (1897–9: 419) for Trautman's theory of its seventeenth-century Parisian origin as a 'précieuse' pronunciation, this still seems the most likely hypothesis. It could spread so rapidly from language to language because it was a purely superficial and easily acquired affectation. In Sc it is now normal in Da, regional in Nw and Sw, sporadic (if at all) in Fa and Ic. In Da (and some SSw and DalSw) r is often vocalized as a central glide.
- (6) Unstressed final consonants. The lost -n of the f. sg. def. and n. pl. def. was restored in Sw and DN, leaving vocalic suffixes as colloquial or vulgar forms, used humorously or descriptively. In Sw the writing of -an for -en was a common compromise between -a and -en in the seventeenth century; solan the sun, bokan the book. After some hesitation Aasen decided to adopt vocalic suffixes for his NN: soli the sun, gata the street. Lost -g (in -ig) was restored in spelling and variously pronounced. Lost -t was restored (retained) in spelling; in Da pronounced as [ð], in Sw as [t], in Nw silent in nouns (except in bookish pronunciation, and before s, as in DN husets of the house), but in DN pronounced in verbs (kastet threw). Lost -r was restored in Sw as a plural morpheme (see 12.4.3). In Da v and g were commonly lost after l and r in the seventeenth century, as reflected in such spellings as gul for gulf floor, suære for sverge swear, bølle for bølge wave, taal for tolf twelve, harre for harve harrow. But in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the spellings became models of a formal pronunciation, in which many of the vs and gs were restored; in DN this was regular except in a few words like halv half, tolv twelve, sølv silver [hall, tåll, søll].
- 12.4 Grammar (see also 11.4). There were few innovations, only a gradual selection among the alternatives offered by the written tradition, the local dialects and the new spoken norm. The fixation of forms can be followed both in written usage and in the prescriptions of the grammarians, which were sometimes at odds. There was a break around 1750 which has led to a distinction between Early Modern and Modern.
- 12.4.1. Gender. Some feeling for the m.-f. distinction still existed in Sw in the seventeenth century; e.g. Columbus (1678, ed. 1963)

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used -n for m., -en for f. (Hesselman 1911:96). But in the same century the new anaphoric den for non-animate c. g. (Sw realgenus) became common in Da and Sw. Han he and hun/hon she for 'it' persisted in archaic and non-standard usage, especially in Sw (where the f. gender was still marked in the word lists of the Sw Academy until 1923). However, the c.-n. distinction remained firm in all Sc, with n. -t as the clearly marked form in adj., pron. and nouns.

Before the norms were established, there was much vacillation from one gender class to the other, especially in loanwords; a tendency developed in Da (and DN) to use n. as a mass term (ol n. beer), c. as a count term (en ol one beer). In perf. part. the use of n. g. as an invariable (supine) form in the perfect tense (har udgivet has published for udgiven) was not firmly established in Da until the eighteenth century (Diderichsen 1944). After copula-like verbs and in adjectival use the gender still vacillates: en stjålen/stjålet cykel a stolen bicycle (DN en stjålen sykkel, and sykkelen er stjålet). In Sw the regular supine became -it (han har stulit he has stolen), but by analogy with c. g. -en an adjectival -et developed: en stulen cykel, but ett stulet halsband a stolen necklace.

12.4.2. Case. The MSw case system was preserved in biblical Sw as a literary archaism, designed for solemnity; it was still partly maintained in the national law of 1734. But in MdSw (as in Da) there were by 1600 only fragments left of the old case endings, except for the expansive and productive possessive in -s. Most personal pronouns maintain a distinction of nom. and obj., but in Da (and Sw) the second half of the eighteenth century saw a general trend to eliminate the obj. from the pre-verb position (mig synes > jeg synes I think; mig hungrar > jag hungrar I hunger) (A. Lindqvist 1912). Similarly the nom. is eliminated in Da from the post-verb position after copula-like verbs (det er jeg > det er mig it is I/me). Sw was more conservative here, as also in the use of the group genitive (11.4.7c). But the double gen, of noun plus article became archaic in the sixteenth century (jordzens in the 1550 Bible > jordens in 1589). The n. def. sg. lost its internal inflection in two stages: barnsens > barnens > barnets the child's. Many of the lost forms survived as part of the poetic language and in standing expressions.

The nom. sg. adj. suffix -er survived in written Sw into the eighteenth century, but not as a marker of case (11.4.7a). The complex conditions of its occurrence have been studied by Ejder (1945);

it was preserved as an archaism, especially in poetry and in legal or biblical language (as late as 1917).

12.4.3. Number. In Da the c. g. nouns vacillated between plurals in -e and -er, and many were not settled until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In general -e was the conservative suffix, used in native monosyllables or in dissyllables in -er (> -re), e.g. drenge boys, dotre daughters, while -er was the productive suffix, used in loanwords, e.g. stater states, aviser newspapers; derivatives, e.g. ven-skaber friendships; as well as many others, e.g. skyer clouds, gæster guests, fødder feet. N. g. nouns vacillated between zero and -e/-er, but were stabilized in the eighteenth century as having zero suffix in principle (especially nouns with collective meaning, cf Diderichsen 1957) e.g. år years, dyr animals, æg eggs, ord words (but digte poems, bryster breasts etc.). Adj. and pron. normally maintained -e.

The more conservative Sw system (c. g. -ar/-er/-or, n. g.  $-\emptyset$ ) was preserved, though -or was generally pronounced -er and was restored to speech only in relatively recent times. In UppSw many weak m. nouns were fixed in the sg. oblique form -a, and were consequently assimilated to the formerly f. -or plural, e.g.  $bl\bar{o}mi$  flower > blomma, pl. blommor;  $sk\bar{o}li$  school > skola, pl. skolor. Words with CSc -R as pl. joined this class (Wessén Sspr 1. 195 calls them 'hyper-swedicisms') and even formed new singulars, e.g. OSw  $\ddot{a}rter$  peas > Sw  $\ddot{a}rter$  (new sg.  $\ddot{a}rt$ )/ $\ddot{a}rtor$  (new sg.  $\ddot{a}rta$ ). Other r-plurals (but not all) were replaced by -ar, e.g. OSc  $\ddot{a}r$  streams > ar, vinter winters > vintrar,  $d\bar{o}tr$  daughters  $> d\ddot{o}ttrar$ . The n. g. nouns in Sw remained identical with sg. Adjectives and pronouns alternated between  $-e/-a/-\emptyset$  for m./f./n., but were leveled under -a in the eighteenth century, with a few writers maintaining -e as a m. into the nineteenth and twentieth (chiefly for males).

The def. art. in Da simply adds -ne to the pl. In Sw the various forms listed above (11.4.8) were reduced in the seventeenth century to -ne/-na added to the c. g. pl. in -r, although the -r was silent. These originally nom./acc. forms competed, but all attempts to find some rule for their distribution failed and in the nineteenth century the UppSw form -na won out: hästarna the horses, prästerna the pastors, gatorna the streets. In consonant and r-stems, forms in -ren were common (föttren the feet, fädren the ancestors) in the seventeenth century and later, but were gradually replaced by the more regular fötterna, fäderna. N. g. nouns had the def. pl. -en, but about 1700

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these added -a to agree with the c. g.: husen the houses > husena, stycken the pieces > styckena, bin the bees > bina. While the first type (husen) retained -en in writing, but -ena in speech, the last two acquired -en/-n as pl. and kept the -a as a sign of the def.

The pl. of verbs was gone in spoken Da in the sixteenth, in Sw in the seventeenth century, but was maintained in writing and formally required by the Da Ministry until 1900 (DN rejected it by 1875), in official Sw until 1952. The Sw 1. p. pl. -om > -e (as in Da) until the nineteenth century, when 3. p. pl. -a replaced it (while some writers maintained -en in the 2. p. pl.). One contributory factor to the loss of pl. was of course the identity of sg. and pl. in weak verbs, e.g. Sw tänkte thought, trodde believed. The ablaut alternation in strong pl. stems was maintained as a solemn form, e.g. drack sg.: drucko pl. drank, var sg.: voro pl. was: were.

12.4.4. Determination. The rules for the def. and indef. articles have not changed markedly since MSc. Preposed articles with nouns were adopted in the Bible for some proper names, probably in imitation of Ger: de Romere the Romans, but remained archaic or idiomatic: de herrer gentlemen, Johannes den døber John the Baptist.

Sw has shown a special fondness for unit designations of weak adj. plus noun, e.g. svenska språket the Swedish language (Nw det svenske språket/Da det svenske sprog), heliga Birgitta the holy Birgitta (Nw Da den hellige Birgitta). In Sw Gamla Stan the old city is a specific part of Stockholm, den gamla staden would apply to any city that was old (cf. Nw Gamlebyen in Oslo vs. den gamle byen the old city). Nw has especially developed the redundant definite, using it even with the dem. pron. denne/dette/disse where Sw has rejected it, e.g. denne unge mannen (formal Sw denne unga man, Da denne unge mand). The redundant article in Nw was established in writing by Aasen for his NN; DN accepted it generally only in the twentieth century (Lundeby 1965).

The forms of the weak (i.e. def.) adj. were greatly simplified in CSc, leaving only -i (-e) for the nom. m. sg. and -a for all other forms except the dat. pl. -om (OSw them ondom the evil ones dat.). While these forms were all reduced to -e in Da (DN), -e and -a competed into the nineteenth century in early MdSw, along dialectal lines, when it became standard to use -e for male, -a for female persons (den äldste) den äldsta the oldest man/woman) in the sg.; otherwise -a was generalized.

12.4.5. Comparative. In Da some new analogical comparatives were formed, e.g. lavere lower (ODa læghræ, cf. Sw lägre/NN lægre) in the sixteenth century, tungere heavier (ODa pyngræ, cf Sw Nw tyngre) in the eighteenth century, with corresponding superlatives (lavest, tungest). The comp. is regularly inflected weak (Da DN -e, Sw -e except in mer/mera more, fler/flera/flere more pl.).

12.4.6. Person. The pers. pron. of Da and Sw were very similar at the opening of this period:

Sg. 1		2		3				
Da jeg	mig	du	dig	han	hannem	sig	den	det
Sw jag	mig	du	dig	han	honom	sig	den	det

Pl. 1				2	3		
Da Sw		os oss	$_{I}^{I}$	eder eder	de de	dem dem	

We here disregard variant spellings with t/th/dh/d of the forms formerly containing  $b/\delta$  (11.3.14). Da developed the form dennem for dem on analogy of hannem in the sixteenth century, but both were replaced by dem and ham in the eighteenth. In Da (and DN) of the seventeenth century eder was sometimes replaced by the speech form jer ( $i\delta er > ier > jer$ ; Seip 1956: 32 suggests the j is analogical from the nom. i), but was not wholly displaced from written usage before c. 1900. The 3. p. nom. pl. de was pronounced [di] at least from the seventeenth century in Da (from where it spread into DN and SSw), but in ENw and UppSw the nom. was replaced by the obj. form as subject (dem/dom), which in eighteenth-century Stockholm became common usage (though the written form continued to distinguish de and dem).

(a) Enclitic forms. The old acc. forms hann him, hana/henne her, pet it developed short forms -(e)n, -na/-ne, -(e)t after verbs and were attached to them as enclitics: Nw Har du sett'n Have you seen him? These were often written in MSc as part of the preceding words, e.g. MDa foen for fo then get it, goreth for gor theth do it. In the Da Bible these were rejected, but in the Sw Bible they were common: taghan for tagha han take him, äret tu for är thet tu is it you; Dahlstiärna: trampana for trampa hana stamp (on) her. They were

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encouraged by Columbus (1678, ed. 1963), but disappeared in the mid eighteenth century under the influence of the grammarians.

- (b) New sandhi form. In the seventeenth century Sw began using the new form ni you pl. for I by subtraction from the 2. p. pl. suffix -en, when the latter preceded (kommen-I > komme-ni you come). Both continued in use, ni as the informal, I as the formal usage. (For similar changes see 11.4.11a.)
- (c) Honorific address. The medieval usage of 2. p. pl. (I, eder) for addressing persons of rank was carried on into early MdSc, even in the dialects (Seip 1956: 32-5). As with Ger ihr (Fr vous, Lat vos) this became a matter of respect for older persons, even within the family; children used it to parents, occasionally even wives to husbands. In a Sw comedy of 1614 the husband addresses his wife as du (and she him as I) until one day she catches him in a drunken state and in his deep humiliation he starts saying I to her (Tegnér 1930: 226). The development of Ni in Sw did not at once replace I in this function, and Ni never acquired full status as a polite pronoun; it remained rather one of slight condescension. In the late eighteenth century this was true of I in Da as well. A reason for this was the development of the third person as a normal replacement of the pronoun of address, in imitation of the general European custom of so addressing royalty (Your Majesty etc.). Sw letters of the late sixteenth century reflect this usage even among friends, where titles like broder and min hustru are used instead of the expected pronouns. The third personal pronoun was the only possible replacement for such titles: Tegnér (1030: 230) cites a letter from the 1590s, 'sosom broderen i sin senaste schrifvelse begerade . . . så sender jagh honom her medh . . . ' as my brother (i.e. you) in his (i.e. your) latest communication requested . . . I send him (i.e. you) herewith. ... Persons without a title were then addressed as han he and hun she, a practice that is abundantly exemplified in Holberg's comedies from the early eighteenth century.

Traces are also found in Holberg's comedies of the new and ultimate custom of honorific address in Da and DN, the use of the third person plural de, now written De, to mean 'you'. This was a loanshift modeled on contemporary German, and by the end of the eighteenth century it had displaced I and han in the Da bourgeoisie (N. Å. Nielsen 1948). It failed to reach Sw, however, where the older custom prevailed. The 1836 grammar of the Sw Academy stated that 'han and hon are sometimes used in daily speech to a person of lower rank,

which marks a little more courtesy than Ni and less intimacy than Du.' Conscious attempts to upgrade Ni as a courteous pronoun of general use in Sw have generally failed, while the custom of using han and hon disappeared, leaving Sw in the awkward position of either having to use a title or avoiding the pronoun altogether by periphrases (e.g. the passive or the impersonal man one). One result has been a tendency to drop the honorifics altogether on acquaintance among equals and return to the use of the basic du, which in any case had remained normal among socially unpretentious persons, e.g. farmers and workers. The avoidance of a personal pronoun in Sw corresponds to a certain distance in Sw social life, which is less noticeable in Da and Nw, where the choice is between intimate du and formal De. Contrary to Ger Sie, the reflexive of De is Dem and not sig (Ger sich), following in principle the 1. and 2. pers. pron. In Ic and Fa the honorific pronoun usage continues the medieval custom of the 2. p. pl. (Ic *pér*, Fa *tygum*). The principles of pronominal usage found for European languages by Brown and Gilman (1960) apply to Sc also, though with special twists for each country; detailed studies remain to be done. Contemporary Sc shows a vigorous expansion of the use of du among young people, expressing 'a will to extend the solidary ethic to everyone' (p. 276).

Person in the verb suffixes (-st, -t) was purely ornamental after the sixteenth century, usually as imitation of the biblical language (11.4.11d).

12.4.7. Tense. The main categories of inflection were not changed from the MSc period (11.4.12). Verbs continued to change membership, mostly from strong to weak, but also in the opposite direction, e.g. Sw pipadhe piped > pep (1. class), knytte tied > knöt (2. class), hinte/hinde succeeded > hann seventeenth century (3. class); for more examples see Hellquist 1922, s.v. hinna. The tendency was especially strong in verbs rhyming with the infinitives of the ablaut classes (e.g. Da Sw stride: new pret. stred fought by analogy with ride:red rode, betyde:betød meant by analogy with byde:bød ordered). Since these choices were made separately, Da and Sw (and later Nw) often arrived at different forms.

The pret. pl. forms with ablaut alternation gradually lost most of these and leveled their stems with the pret. sg., e.g. OSw flugho flew pl. > flögo (sg. flög), stigho stepped pl. > stegho (sg. stegh). Only the third class -u- remained active into MdSw down to the time of the

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loss of verb plurals, e.g. spunno spun pl. (sg. spann), attracting (in the seventeenth century) even fourth- and fifth-class verbs like buro bore pl. (older båro), sutto sat pl. (older såto). In the weak verbs the onclass (Da -ede, Sw -ade) was productive and dominant but the ja-class (-de/-te) also survived, though with a trend to replace -de with -te in Da (Sw NN hängde/hengde: Da DN hængte/hengte hanged). A trend in Da towards the new class 3 -dd- after vowels as in Sw and Nw disappeared by 1700 (Skautrup 2. 353), giving e.g. boede dwelt.

The mutative verbs (11.4.12b) which in OSc (and MdIc) could form the perf. tense either with hava (to express action) or vera (to express result) developed differently in Da and Sw. In Da (probably under Ger influence) they were increasingly used with vera only, while in Sw they were more and more used with hava, especially toward the end of the seventeenth century, when Sw standard speech developed under the influence of UppSw dialects (Johannisson 1945, 1959). In Da the use of vera was necessary to distinguish state from action, as the perf. part. lost its congruence (er kommen > er kommet), while in Sw the maintenance of congruence for state left the verbs free to adopt hava in expressions of action (Diderichsen 1944). Nw dialects (and hence NN) developed in the same direction as Sw, while DN (which began like Da) moved in the direction of increased use of hava (Western 1921: 332-4).

In the second half of the seventeenth century written Sw adopted an economy measure from Ger, the omission of the auxiliary hava in subordinate clauses, leaving the perf. part. alone to serve as a perfect tense, e.g. sedan han talat for earlier sedan han hade talat since he had spoken. The change has been dated by T. Johannisson (1960) to the generation of 1663–85, when it became normal in Sw. Ger restored the auxiliary in the nineteenth century, but Sw continued to exclude it in writing, although it was never lost in speech before very recently. Johannisson has suggested that its omission in Sw was connected with the simultaneous change from vera to hava in the mutative verbs, which made the auxiliary redundant.

12.4.8. Mode. The imperative 2. p. sg. was zero, except for the preservation in Sw Ic Fa (and older NN) of -a in the ōn-class of weak verbs: hälsa din mor greet your mother (Da DN hils, older NN helsa). Occasional forms like Nw gakk/Da gak/Sw gack go, statt stand survived as archaisms. Imp. pl. forms (Da -er, Sw -en/-er; Sw 1. p. -om) were also archaic: Låtom oss bedja! Let us pray!

The subjunctive (Da Sw Nw -e) was still functional in sixteenth-century Da, but after that it became either archaic or was limited to wishes and oaths: gud give God grant, fanden ta ham the devil take him. In Sw it survived longer, e.g. in the laws: Giör han thet ej; böte tre daler if he does not do it, (let him) pay three dollars (1734). Strong pret. subj. forms like finge got, vore were remained in common written use down to the present in Sw, but in speech they alternate with the unmarked pret. or with modals. Phrases like Da DN takket være/Sw tack vare thanks be (to) and DN koste hva det vil cost what it may are survivals of the subj.

Marked differences in the use of modals developed in the various languages. Compulsion ('must') continued to be expressed by må in Da DN, but in Sw by the new måste (11.4.13c) and by the development of få get into a modal auxiliary. While få (like OSc Ic geta) continued to be construed with the supine in the sense 'get (something) done', it developed in Sw and Nw a new modal construction with the inf. which in Nw meant 'permission, mild compulsion', in Sw 'compulsion': Hon fick ligga länge She had to lie a long time (Nw She was permitted to lie a long time). The modals skall/skal and vil (pret. skulle, ville) convey various shades of intention and futurity, with a preference for skall in Sw, vil in Da and DN: Sw Hur skulle det ha gått? / Da Nw Hvordan ville det (ha) gått? How would it have gone? (Hulthén 1944: 168). These trends were already apparent in the seventeenth century (Hellquist 1902: 185 ff.).

12.4.9. Diathesis. Monosyllabic mediopassives like finnz is found, gafs was given yielded in seventeenth-century Da to dissyllabic forms by analogy with the pl.: finnes, gaves. The general trend (11.4.14) toward limiting the forms in -s(t) to specific verbs and idioms continued: in the sixteenth century reflexives like sættes sit down yielded to sætte sig. In the eighteenth century Da kedes be bored > kede sig, and in this way a new verb kede bore arose. Deponent verbs like hændes happen, rødmes blush > hænde, rødme in the nineteenth century. In Sw glädjas be glad, rejoice developed a parallel form glädja sig (also in Nw: gledes/glede seg), which became more common than the old. While the -s forms were being circumscribed in various ways, periphrastic passive forms were increasingly productive, formed with blive/bliva/bli (NN verta/vart, Fa Ic verða/varð).

The usual function of the passive is to bring the object of an action into subject position, for emphasis or stylistic parallelism, or because

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the actor is either unknown or unmentioned. This movement transformation requires the alteration of acc. to nom. on the part of the object: Nw Min bror så ham My brother saw him > Han ble sett (av min bror) He was seen (by my brother). At least from the seventeenth century it became common to do the same with indirect objects: Min bror gav ham boken My brother gave him the book > Han ble gitt boken (av min bror) He was given the book (by my brother). Grammarians trained in Lat and Ger grammar found this construction illogical, overlooking the fact that in these languages the dat. had a separate marker and could therefore be maintained even in this position (Ihm wurde ein Buch gegeben). But the same change that made it impossible to maintain such forms as mig synes (meseems, methinks) required the nom. form before the verb (the parallel was pointed out by Lindqvist 1912: 63-8). In spite of the grammarians' bewilderment, this construction has won its way, as in Eng (where it is known since the fourteenth century), in both cases as a result of the loss of case distinction. Sentences like Sw Han beviljades avsked He was granted (his) discharge, or even with verb phrases, like Han skrattas åt He is laughed at or Han blev tagit vara på He was taken care of have become increasingly common and are now grudgingly accepted by grammarians, except in Ic and Fa, where the dat. is still available (Mér var gefin bókin I was given the book Einarsson 1945: 149; see the list of references below).

12.4.10. Conjunction. Early MdSc was strongly influenced by Lat and Ger style, in which a complex and often baroque sentence structure flourished. After the first vigorous burst of simple style in the writings of the reformers, the learned style took over. A climax was reached for Da in the writings of Ludvig Holberg, who in his dual role of poet and professor mastered the entire range of eighteenth-century writing. From Lat he drew such constructions as the accusative with inf., e.g. (han) sagde sig at ville dø (he) said he wanted to die (lit. 'said himself to want to die'), participial absolutes, e.g. mig vidende as far as I know (lit. 'me knowing') and gerundives, e.g. dette at forhindre marcherede de . . . mod ham to prevent this they marched . . . against him (cit. Skautrup 3. 38).

Such abbreviated clauses, subordinated in various ways so as to mark the logical relationship of the ideas, were characteristic of the learned period in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but were generally rejected in the more popular style that developed after 1750.

In relative clauses Sc preserved its use of uninflected particles as conjunctions, except in formal style (hvilken) or in indirect questions (Da hvem, hvad, hvis, hvilken, hvad for en). The usual particle in all the languages is som (Fa sum Ic sem), except that in Da it competes in subject position with der, which in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries became the most common (for discussion see A. Hansen 1967: 3. 443-54).

12.4.11. Word order. In Da and DN formal style it was not uncommon to use VS (inverted order) after og and in main clauses, but this disappeared entirely in the twentieth century: og siges der forvist, at . . . and it is said for certain, that . . . (Holberg). There was also, under German influence, a tendency to place the finite verb last in subordinate clauses, but this was rejected in the seventeenth century; Leonora Christina (1664) corrected her famous Jammers minde to this effect, e.g. att I icke nogen Bagage med eder haffuer > att I icke haffuer etc. that you do not have any baggage with you (Skautrup 2. 358).

12.5 Words and Names. The modern period has been one of unparalleled expansion in the vocabulary, thanks to the development of specialized knowledge and the possibilities of information storage which books, libraries, recordings and films have provided. The accelerating development has left such languages as the Sc in the position of constantly grasping for new expressions to cover the latest additions to knowledge. We can only briefly survey some of the changes wrought in modern times in (1) word formation, (2) lexicon and (3) names.

# (1) Word Formation

r2.5.1. By this time Sc was well provided with prefixes and suffixes from MLG, many of which became richly productive. The new feature was the growing number of learned words with Lat and Gk affixes. These rarely became productive, and the words often remained purely literary. They introduced entirely new patterns of stress, primarily stress on final or near-final syllables: abstrakt', korrelat', koordine're, etc. While these were generally Lat (or Gk) in their origin, they were often filtered through HG, which was now secondary only to Lat as the learned language, a role it assumed in the mid eighteenth century.

Native prefixes still productive were gen- 'again', mid- 'mid', mis- 'wrong', sam- 'together', tve-/tvi- 'two', u-/o- 'not', van- 'bad', but much more common were MLG an-, be-, bi-, er-, for-, ge-, und-, largely because of constant borrowing of new loanwords containing them. A few native formations with these were Da bebrejde upbraid, Da benægte deny, Sw begagna employ, Sw benägen inclined; Da forfremme promote, Da forsinke delay, Sw förbrylla confuse; Da undselig bashful, Da undvære/Sw undvara get along without.

Native suffixes were few and unproductive; it is symptomatic that Christiern Pedersen in the sixteenth century re-edited medieval texts from rættwyssæ righteousness to retwished, ydmyght humility to ydmyghed, samningh gathering to forszamling and samuid conscience to samuittighed (Skautrup 2. 232). The suffixes -dom and -skap were rare except when they were formed on Ger models (-tum, -schaft). The nominalizer -leikr had virtually disappeared in Da (> -lig as in veirlig and confused with the adj. -lig), but survived in Sw (and NN): kärlek/kjærleik love (Molde 1948). The popular -else (from OSax -else, MLG -els) was also freely used to replace MLG -nisse or HG -en/-ung to form abstracts in Da and Sw: anseelse respect (Ger Ansehen), forladelse forgiveness (ODa forlāta leave, forgive) (see Seip 1947; Loman 1961). In many cases Sw preferred -ande or -ende (calqued on MLG -ent): anseende respect, but förlåtelse forgiveness. Other important suffixes were -er 'agent', -eri 'activity; place for activity', -het (Da -hed) 'abstract', -ing/-ning 'activity; person', -ske 'female'. Some Romance suffixes were -al (principal, moral), -an(er) (kurtesan, indianer), -ant (prædikant preacher), -at (mandat), -ator (prokurator), etc. These were substantially identical to those well known in Eng. The most common adjectival suffixes were -aktig (Da -agtig) '-ish', -bar, -et, -ig, -(e)lig, -sk, -som, -voren, most of which could be used with either native or borrowed words. In the early MdDa period adverbs were often formed from adjectives by adding -(e)ligen, e.g. skammeligen shamefully, vnkeligen miserably, but these were later shortened to -lige and eventually to -lig(t).

The most popular suffix of all was probably the originally Romance -ere, from the Lat inf. -ēre/-ere/-āre > Fr -ēr > MLG -ēren (HG -ieren). This suffix permitted the virtually unlimited entry of Latin and French words (and in modern times, English, cf park (a car) > parkere). There are hundreds of these words; only a few of them have Gmc bases, e.g. Sw hantera/Da Nw håndtere handle, halvera/halvere

halve, husera/husere ravage (all LG). These are inflected as the ōn-verbs (Da -ede/Sw -ade, but Nw -te). They form abstracts in -ing/-else/-ande as well as borrowed derivatives in -tion, e.g. Da Sw motivering motivation, Sw stiliserande stylicization, but instruktion and dekoration; redigering is editing, but redaktion is the editorial staff. A modern borrowing that has proved extremely productive is the suffix -mässig (Da -mæssig/Nw -messig), specially studied by Söderbergh (1964). Borrowed from HG in the eighteenth century, it became productive in the sense of 'according to', 'like' ('-ive', '-ish'); from regelmässig regular (HG regelmässig) it spread to become an adjectivizing suffix of general use, in some cases adverbial and then corresponding to Eng -wise, e.g. forsäkringsmässig insurance-wise, innehållsmässigt content-wise.

12.5.2. The most readily available and productive process of word formation was as always that of compounding. Many derivatives were originally compounds, whose first or second members had lost their stress or meaning. But new compounds continued to be made and are constantly being created, mostly according to well-established patterns. Most compounds have primary stress on the first (defining) member, and secondary stress on the second (base) member, which latter determines the class membership of the whole word. A compound is therefore held together by a common stress pattern (one primary) and grammar (one set of suffixes). The first member may either be a plain base or have a suffix, mostly the genitive -s-; a few words have traces of other linkages, e.g. Da gæstebud/Sw gästabud party, Da Sw rosenblad rose leaf, Da studenterforening (Sw Nw student-) student society, Sw kungakrona royal crown, Da Sw Nw giftermål marriage, Sw kyrkogård churchyard, Sw stugudörr house door, Da dommedag/Sw domedag doomsday. There are of course other kinds of compounds than the ones briefly indicated here; for details see the bibliography below.

Compounds were a favorite stylistic element in the baroque style, as advocated in Germany by Opitz (1597–1639) and followed in Denmark by Arrebo (1587–1637) and others. Many of these were fantastic and idiosyncratic, e.g. giftig-odded poison-pointed (arrow), den syndflod-banked snekke that deluge-beaten bark (i.e. Noah's ark). But most of the compounds included in Sc dictionaries today (as well as thousands that are obvious formations and not included) are either deliberate or unconscious creations to meet modern technical and

administrative needs. These are made as wanted in imitation also of foreign words, especially in Ic and Fa, but in the other languages as well. As in Ger, compounds are normally written solid, so that they appear longer than in English, even when they are in fact identical, e.g. Da legemstemperatur body temperature, tilpasningsvanskeligheder difficulties of adjustment, arbejderklasse working class.

A favorite type of compound in recent writing, especially Sw, is the noun-incorporating verb, like Eng baby-sit. The type is old, though formerly rare, e.g. CSc rannsaka ransack ('house-sack'), pinglysa announce at the thing, i.e. legalize. Not until the eighteenth century did it begin to proliferate, e.g. bundfryse freeze solid ('bottom-freeze'), drøvtygge chew the cud ('cud-chew'). These are originally formed by analogical subtraction from nominal or adjectival compounds like bundfrysning or drøvtyggende. In current journalistic writing one sees such space-saving compounds as Sw pistolskjuta shoot with a pistol ('pistol-shoot'), Da strejkelamme paralyze by a strike, etc. (Åkermalm 1952, 1955; Johannisson 1964; Wellander 1915).

12.5.3. These primarily literary forms are an extension of the wellknown Gmc compounds of particle plus verb, which in Ger appear as separable (aufstellen > er stellt auf he sets up) or inseparable (übersetzen > er übersetzt he translates). As especially Johannisson (1964) has shown, these are not regulated in Sc as they are in Ger. In speech the general rule has always been *separation* of verb and particle, e.g. Sw *föra bort* take away, *söka upp* look up, *ställa fram* put forth. These were normally compounded only in the (adjectival) perf. part., e.g. bortfört, uppsökt, framställt. This is still the rule in NN, Fa and Ic, as well as in spoken Da, DN and Sw. Under the influence of Lat and Ger style, however, Da and Sw in the late Middle Ages began forming compound verbs like bortføre/bortföra abduct, opsøge/uppsöka look up, fremstille/framställa depict, represent. These were generally literary in style and abstract or transferred in sense, modeled on similar Ger compounds. As a result verb-particle phrases in Sc are either separate (and concrete), compound (and abstract) or both, in which case the separate form is concrete and/or informal, the compound form is abstract and/or formal (e.g. komme ned come down vs. nedkomme give birth, stöta på grund run aground vs. grundstöta the same, but more formal). An illustration, which is almost a pun: Det är lättare att tillrättavisa än att visa till rätta It is easier to reprimand than to give guidance (Wellander 1939: 617).

12.5.4. There are also numerous formations that show other relationships than those of affixation and compounding. There are consonantal and vocalic alternations involving sound symbolism, from those that imitate the sounds of nature to those that merely suggest various kinds of activity, such as Da Nw Sw smiska and smaska, DN NN slarva and slurva, Ic slapra and slupra, Da krible and krable, Sw syssla and pyssla, Da DN hviske and tiske. Such initial clusters as fj-(Da fjas nonsense, fjollet foolish, Sw fjäskig foolish) or pj- (pjatt chatter, Sw pjunkig namby-pamby) are generally pejorative. Many new words have been made by shortening, such as bil car (from automobil in 1901 in Da), buss bus (from omnibus), lok locomotive, el electric, dilla delirium (tremens), Sw stins station master (from stationsinspektor). Back formation of nouns from verbs, on the analogy of earlier noun plus verbal suffixes, became popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as being more vigorous than the Germantype derivatives by suffix. Such words are kryp/kryb tot, mite, vermin from krype/krybe to creep; hvil rest from hvile/vila to rest; Nw et skriv (official) letter from skrive to write (formerly skrivelse). Acronyms have been taken over from other countries and new ones made, from U.S.A. to Nato (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). A popular Sw and Nw acronym is LO (pronounced [el'lu]) for Landsorganisationen (the National Federation of Labor Unions). Eng is certainly responsible for the widespread W.C. (Nw [ve' se'], Sw [ve'se]) for water closet and TV [te've] for television.

# (2) The Lexicon

12.5.5. Social changes, which led to obsolescence of older customs and the introduction of new ones, were a significant factor in altering the composition of the vocabulary. Thanks to corrections made in editions of earlier works, such as the Bible and the laws, it is possible to follow the gradual obsolescence or emergence of many words and expressions. The circulation of vocabulary was greatest in Da, and only in this language has any attempt been made to present a view of the development by periods, in Skautrup's great history of Da. For each period he discusses the 'life and death of words', showing how words for dying institutions were lost or altered, and how new words arose. It is impossible to summarize this development, since it becomes a detailed study as extensive as the whole lexicon, and there are few if any general principles. It is Skautrup's contention that

words in the earlier periods 'were often something else and more than a bare communication, a sign: they had power in themselves' (1.309). This was no doubt true with regard to names and the sacred terms of magic and religion, but only because the words were signs of the power that they were thought to represent. When Skautrup also contends that words were more 'complex' then than now, i.e. that their meanings were less precise and could cover wider and to us more heterogeneous senses, this is more dubious. There is no evidence whatever to show that the operation of language on the day-to-day, informal level was any different earlier than it is now. (I note how within my lifetime the Eng word date has developed from 'day of the month' > 'appointment' > 'assignation' > 'companion of the opposite sex', all in simultaneous use.) Precision has grown where knowledge has grown, but this is primarily a matter of writing and the technical execution of certain types of work. When the spinning wheel yields to the woolen mills, the focus of vocabulary is displaced accordingly.

12.5.6. The new Lutheranism gradually extinguished the specific Catholic terms, though many saints' days remained in the folk vocabulary down to the present (Sankthansdag St. John's for Midsummer, Mikkelsmess Michaelmas), along with hokuspokus (from hoc est corpus) and maria gullsko the ladybug ('Mary's golden shoe'). Social changes made words like bygd rural community, træl slave, kone woman and rise ogre obsolete in Da, though they were revived in modern times, in part through influence from Nw. Words like neita (ODa netæ) deny, nema learn, nytja use, rædd (ON hræddr) afraid, reyna (ODa ronæ) try were displaced by MLG loanwords like nægte, lære, bruge, bange, forsøge. By 1600 a new crop of Ger words was entering the language from HG, but they remained much more superficial in their use than LG had been. The reason was of course that they tended to be technical or literary words and as such remained within the special fields of their application. By this time most of the MLG vocabulary was so completely assimilated that few if anyone thought of it as foreign. In fact, Columbus in 1678 took the point of view that Ger and Sw were really one language, 'sisters whose father and mother are long since dead', so that 'we should be able to take freely the one from the other, whatever we please', since 'sisters and cousins can borrow from one another's heritage' (Columbus 1963: 92).

12.5.7. The effect of this privilege appears in the introduction of

new terms for all kinds of social positions created after German models, from hofmarskalk court chamberlain to kudsk coachman, from stiftamtmand diocesan prefect to skarpretter executioner. Titles of politeness such as herr, fru and froken were at first reserved for the nobility, but gradually reached down to every citizen as the equivalents of 'Mr.', 'Mrs.' and 'Miss', in rural areas not until our century. New animals, plants, architecture, tools, clothing, food, medicines and other products brought their Ger names with them. Since many of the soldiers and officers were Ger mercenaries, the military terminology was largely Ger, though the Ger terms in turn were to a great extent French in origin.

r2.5.8. A counter-current set in during the seventeenth century, when native scholars began considering these languages as objects of study for the first time. But as in the case of Columbus (above 12.5.6), the resistance to non-native innovations was not to Ger, but to Lat words, which were so much more conspicuous. In Da one of their successes was the replacement with native equivalents of the international grammatical terms, e.g. nomen noun > navneord 'name word', adjectivum adjective > tillægsord 'added word', numerale > talord 'number word', vocalis vowel > selvlyd 'self-sound', consonans > medlyd 'with-sound', syllaba > stavelse etc. (chiefly by Pontoppidan 1668). The Lat terms continued in technical usage, but the Da ones were introduced into school grammars to the obvious benefit of schoolchildren. With minor differences they entered the other Sc languages also, especially of course Ic, where there already was a long grammatical tradition in the native language.

12.5.9. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the vocabularies of Da and Sw experienced an enormous elaboration in two opposing directions: (a) a literary expansion to include as a stylistic device virtually every word that could be spoken or had ever been written within the country, and (b) a technical expansion to meet the demands of an increasingly international science and technology. The former may be regarded as an internal cultivation for enrichment of the spirit, the latter as an external cultivation for enrichment of the body. The former emphasizes the wealth of the national language by calling on the resources of its own past and its internal diversity in terms that evoke rich associations of meaning. The latter emphasizes the poverty of the national language by demanding that it be able to express whatever new knowledge is available in other languages in

terms that maintain a sharply definable meaning. Both of these elaborations were the work of a small group of writers and spread to only a part of the population, the first in the often esoteric imaginative literature, the second in the only partly popularized writings of scientists.

The results are apparent in the disappearance of many obvious Germanisms and Gallicisms after the middle of the eighteenth century, e.g. Da afsigt (> hensigt) intention, anbyde (> tilbyde) offer, angenem (but not in Sw, which still has angenam for Da behagelig) pleasant, begegne (> mode) meet, bundsforvant (> forbundsfælle, alliert) ally, eng (> snæver) narrow, fortgå (> fortsætte, both in Sw) continue, gunstling (> yndling, but kept in Sw) favorite, geburtsdag (> fødselsdag after 1850, still common in DN) birthday, etc. Romance words were common in Holberg and help to give his writings their special patina, now that many of them have been replaced: words like pardieu and mafoi are common exclamations, while terms like charmante and avantage are bandied about by his more fashionable personages. The aspirations of the upwardly mobile are reflected in the degradation of such terms as jomfru, the usual title for an unmarried girl of the middle class, which was replaced by froken in the eighteenth century, a term that previously had been reserved for princesses. From about 1850 the title madam was correspondingly replaced by fru. The old native terms faster father's sister and moster mother's sister and the corresponding farbro(de)r and morbro(de)r were displaced in Da after 1800 by the French tante and onkel, while Sw (and Nw) have kept all six terms.

12.5.10. The sources of borrowing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were less one-sidedly German than earlier. A pan-Scandinavian movement in the mid nineteenth century led to increased contact, especially between the academic communities of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. A few specialized terms were borrowed within Scandinavia, e.g. Da took over from Sw nyfigen curious, sysselsat occupied, farsot epidemic, helse health, gåde riddle, from Nw fos waterfall, sæter mountain chalet, hygge good cheer, grætten grouchy, etc. Some literary and exotic loans were picked up from OIc, e.g. norne norn, Da idræt/Sw idrott sport. Even after the conflict with Germany that reached its climax in 1864, Ger remained the language best known in Sc and continued to furnish impulses of both a literary and practical nature. But the actual borrowing of new words was

resisted. French was the language of fashion, at least down to 1914, with an influence that is reflected in *haute couture* as well as cooking and many other fields (C. Møller 1927). International loans in the scientific field were those of Lat and Gk roots, formed in the usual way that is familiar from Eng. The only major deviation was in Ic, as described elsewhere.

Since World War I the chief foreign influence has been Eng, which has created problems due to the discrepancy between Eng spelling and pronunciation. The general knowledge of Eng among educated persons has created a resistance to nativizing the spellings in the same way as earlier with Ger and Romance loanwords. Popular Eng loanwords like gjeng (from gang) or kjeks (from cakes) were adapted in the nineteenth century, but now there is a problem due to the difficulty of reconciling the spelling and the pronunciation in terms of Sc habits of reading. So nylon has been adopted as nylon and pronounced [nylo'n] by some Da and Nw speakers, but was resolutely changed to najlon [naj'lan] in Sw. The invasion of Eng loanwords has been supported by a combination of commercial, technical, scientific and popular products from England and the United States. Although it has added to the vocabulary and altered the meanings of some familiar terms, its impact is not even faintly comparable to that of MLG which the Sc languages survived in the late Middle Ages. One reason is of course the active teaching of the mother tongues in the schools, which was then unknown.

12.5.11. What is the size of the vocabulary of the modern Sc languages today? In principle infinite, since it can be extended at need by borrowing and creation. Ordbog over det danske Sprog has over 150,000 separate entries, and so does the Word List of the Swedish Academy (SAOL); Sverdrup and Sandvei's DN word list has at least 175,000 (it claims 250,000). Blöndal's Islensk-dönsk orðabók contains roughly 200,000 words and the 1963 supplement added another 40,000. The new NN dictionary (Norsk Ordbok, ed. Hellevik) has reached some 30,000 words in the letters A to D, which covers about one-eighth of the vocabulary in Aasen's dictionary; at this rate it will reach 250,000 words. Such lists (like those in Webster's and other dictionaries of English) are merely repositories of potentially usable words, not of the actual vocabularies of the speakers and writers of the languages. Even the principles of counting words are uncertain, and any suggestion that there are speakers here or elsewhere whose

vocabularies are to be counted in the hundreds is a persistent canard. Even Skautrup, whose own studies have shown that Da dialect speakers master anywhere from twelve to sixteen thousand words, accepts the unsupported assumption that 'the vocabulary of the average person is less now than it was two generations ago' (Skautrup 4. 147). There are of course great differences in the active and passive command of vocabulary, and in the areas of highest facility, as between individuals and groups. As the old rural occupations disappear, their vocabulary is impoverished, but a new urban vocabulary has taken its place. Education brings new concepts and with them a world of novel terms (K. Møller 1950).

12.5.12. More interesting would be detailed studies of the special qualities of the Sc vocabulary. Few such studies have been made, and they are rather inconclusive. Suzanne Öhman (1951) has shown that Sw has certain words for which Ger (and Eng) has no one-word equivalents: trivas (Nw trives) 'be happy, enjoy oneself', orka (= gitta, idas) 'have the energy to do something', hinna 'get something done', and slippa 'not have to do something'. One could of course mention others, such as hygge/hyggelig/trevlig, or phrases like takk for sist and skål, all of which refer to specially Sc customs. She has also shown (1959) that leika play was displaced in the sixteenth century by MLG spelen in the sense of 'play an instrument', and claims that Sc (except for Ic and Fa) now lacks a sense of identity between the playing of artists and the play of infants. But even in Eng (as in Ger) this is scarcely more than a pun today, and musicians of my acquaintance have resented the implication that their professional work was regarded by some as children's play.

# (3) Names

vith the growth of cities. Medieval names persist in the city cores as quaint reminders of village days, e.g. Brunnsgränd 'well lane' (Stockholm), Klosterstræde 'monastery street', Skindergade 'tanners' street', Hyskenstræde 'outhouse street' (Copenhagen), Kalvskinnet 'the calf skin', Torvalmenningen 'the market common' (Bergen). New streets are more functionally named, with some tendency to commemorate national heroes, e.g. Karl Johans Gate in Oslo (after King Charles John Bernadotte), Gustav Adolfs Torg in Stockholm (King Gustavus Adolphus's Square), H. C. Andersens Boulevard in Copenhagen. The

new Renaissance castles were given fancy names to commemorate their builders, e.g. Frederiksborg (Frederik II), Christiansholm (Christian V). The kings founded or renamed towns in their honor, e.g. Christiania and Christiansand in Norway, Christianopel and Christianstad in Blekinge and Skåne (all for Christian IV of Denmark), Fredrikstad in Norway (and Denmark) and Fredericia in Denmark (for Frederik III), Karlskrona in Sweden (for Charles XI).

12.5.14. Given names were practically all Christian-derived (biblical or hagiographic) by the time of the Reformation, with the old pagan or at least native names driven back into the remoter rural areas (and Iceland). Among the more common names were nativized forms of Andreas (Anders, Andres), Christian (Kristen, Krister), Johannes (Johan, Jon, Jens, Hans), Martin (Morten), Nicholas (Niels, Klaus), Peter (Peder, Per); for women Anna (Anne, Ann), Catharina (Katrine, Karen, Trine), Christina (Kerstin, Kristi), Margareta (Margret, Margrit, Grete), Marie (Mari), etc. Among the few native names that remained popular were those hallowed by sainthood or royalty, like Olaf (Ola, Olof), Erik (Järker), Knut (Knud). The LG invasion brought with it numerous Ger names, mostly in the cities or in families of Ger background, e.g. Fritz, Gotfrid, Karsten, Lennart, Sivert. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries nobility and royalty introduced from Germany the custom of giving two names. Christian IV's German wife was Anne Cathrine, and Carl IX's German wife Christina called her children Gustav Adolf, Karl Filip and Maria Elisabet. Not until late in the nineteenth century did this custom become at all common in the whole population. (For a study of the development in a rural community in SW Jutland over three centuries see Meldgaard 1965.)

Successive waves of fashion, stemming from Germany, France and England washed over Scandinavia. Beginning in the eighteenth century there was a conspicuous literary influence, which encouraged the adoption of names of heroes and heroines in the writings of e.g. Richardson and Rousseau (*Pamela*, *Julie*, *Émile*). But the most striking change was what has been called the Nordic Renaissance in naming, which began with the rediscovery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of OSc history and literature, and reached its climax toward the end of the nineteenth century. The popularity of Oehlenschläger's and Grundtvig's writings in Denmark, of Esaias Tegnér's and Viktor Rydberg's in Sweden, of Bjørnson's and Ibsen's in Norway brought with them a revival of such men's names as *Tor*-

sten (Torstein), Haakon (Hakon), Fridtjof, Torbjørn, Einar, Harald, Gunnar, Sigurd, Sverre, Kåre, Hjalmar and such women's names as Dagny, Signe, Hallgerd, Solveig, Ingeborg, Synnøve, Borghild, Dagmar, Gudrun, Helga, Ingrid and Ragnhild. In Norway the use of ONw names became a symbol of the reassertion of nationality, as expressed in the renaming of the Danish Prince Carl and his son Alexander as Haakon (VII) and Olav (V) when they became king and crown prince of Norway in 1905. Since the names were taken from literary sources, they did not at first tie in with some of the same names that had lived a natural, but socially rejected life in the country districts, e.g. Olav > Ola, Ole; Sigrid > Siri; Gudrun > Guro; Gudrid > Guri; Torgeir > Tarje. But after 1900 even these and many others of humble status began to appear and win popularity as the restored saga names lost some of their halo: Kjell, Ture, Åke; Jorunn, Randi, etc.

Names in the twentieth century have continued this trend of native names, without distinction between Christian and pagan, but with many foreign names slipping in via the mass media (Arthur, Bob, Dick, Alice, Daisy, Kate). Functional considerations led to shortenings, so that names rarely exceeded one or two syllables (the latter with a single vowel or vowel plus consonant). In 1920 the five most popular girls' names in Sweden were Karin, Margit, Brita, Greta and Ingrid (Otterbjörk 1964: 53). In the 1950s the most common men's names at the University of Uppsala were Erik, Lars, Per, Anders and Olof. An evidence of relaxing solemnity is also the growing tendency to use pet names (diminutives), not just as alternates in speech, but even officially, at baptism and in writing, including such hypocoristic forms as Bibi, Ditte, Dudde, Gunna, Lolo, Jytte, Tessa, etc. (even in Iceland, where the old names are usually replaced in speech by pet names) (K. Møller 1943).

12.5.15. The major development in personal names in modern times is the general adoption of family names. In the Middle Ages we have seen a variety of surnames, characterizing their possessors as somebody's son or daughter, as having an occupation or a personal characteristic, or as coming from some place. But only royalty or nobility had the right or desire to transmit surnames from generation to generation; even such noble names as the Da Bagge, Brahe, Krag, Trolle, or Sw Bielke, Sture, Bonde were not in daily use. In 1526 King Frederik I and in 1626 Gustavus Adolphus ordered the nobility to

adopt family names. Most of these were heraldic, e.g. the Da Rosenkrans and Gyldenstierne, the Sw Lilliehöök and Gyllenkrook (an ennobled Krok!). Others were toponymic, e.g. Ehrenborg, Stråle af Sjöared. From the nobility the custom gradually spread to the upper bourgeoisie, at least after 1700, more often toponymic, e.g. Bredsdorff or Schandorph in Denmark, Academics, especially the clergy, Latinized their names, as elsewhere in Europe, e.g. Olaus Petri for Olof Petersson. In the seventeenth century some of these eventually began to be used as family names, e.g. the Da (and Nw) Arctander ('man of the North', a family from north Norway), Bartholin (Bertelsen), Fabritius ('smith'), Pontoppidan ('bridge town', translation of Da Broby), or the Sw Celsius ('hill'), Molander ('miller's son'), Nobel (from Nobelius, i.e. the town of Nöbbelöv). Peder, son of Esbern the coppersmith in Ribe, inscribed himself at Wittenberg as Petrus Esbernus Pladius Ripensis: as a doctor of philosophy he became the well-known scholar Peter Palladius. This custom weakened in the eighteenth century, especially after the well-aimed satire of Holberg's play Erasmus Montanus (1722). In the eighteenth century the Latin endings were often dropped to give the names a French cast, e.g. Linnæus > Linné.

The first order for everyone to adopt permanent family names came in Schleswig in 1771, and was extended to the whole Da kingdom in 1828, but it met with some resistance. In Norway and Sweden the rural population had still failed to adopt family names well into the nineteenth century; many emigrants had to make up their minds after they got to America. In most Sc communities the first response was to adopt the current patronymic, which led to a surfeit of names in -sen in Da (and DN), -son in Sw (and NN), many of which were identical because of the small stock of first names. One out of three Danes had names in -sen in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Skautrup 3. 440); in 1958 two out of five Swedes bore one of the nineteen -son names at the top of the list of names; there were 380,000 Anderssons (Modéer 1964: 126). Laws were passed authorizing and encouraging the adoption of more distinctive family names. The usual recourse, especially in Norway (and in Dalarne in Sweden and Österbotten in Finland), was to adopt the name of the farm on which one was born. In Sw the seventeenth-century bourgeoisie preferred a (German-inspired) compound nature name, with such flowery combinations as Palmgren 'palm branch', Rosengvist 'rose twig', Sjöberg,

'sea cliff', Lindström 'linden stream', either formed freely or based on a place-name, e.g. Strindberg from Strinne, a place. In all the countries a certain cachet went with the possession of a foreign name, since these were usually the names of families from Germany, France, or England, whose social position in the bourgeoisie assured them of a comfortable status. Craft names were not adopted as family names in Sc, so names like Møller 'miller', Smith, Bøtker 'cooper' are always imported. Even native names were sometimes respelled to look foreign, e.g. Bache for Bakke.

Only in Iceland was there a consciously developed resistance to the new family name custom. This was not apparent until late in the nineteenth century, when the movement for independence included agitation for a return to the older custom of first names as basic, with alternating patronymics. The trend of Ic academics and officials to follow the Da lead in these matters is clearly evident in such names as Thorlacius (Latinized from Pórláksson), Thoroddsen (Danicized from Póroddsson) and Nordal or Laxness (from place-names). But in 1924 the Althing passed a law forbidding the adoption of new family names and encouraging (but not requiring) those who had them to give them up. Even though the law has been laxly enforced, it has had the effect of maintaining the old system, which astonishes visitors by making the given name the alphabetizing factor in telephone catalogs and identifying married women by their fathers rather than by their husbands (e.g. Helga Ólafsdóttir may be the wife of Hallbjörn Vilmundarson). This custom was still in use elsewhere in Scandinavia as late as the seventeenth century.

12.6 Standards and Styles. The modern period begins with Renaissance and Humanism, a revival of ancient learning and classical languages which bore within it the seeds of its own dissolution. In 1550 every school in western Europe was taught in Latin: in 1950 every school was taught in the mother tongue. What had been a theory of Dante 'de vulgari eloquentia' in 1302, and a concern of many educators and reformers for centuries, became a reality in the course of the nineteenth century: children were educated (where enlightenment prevailed) in the standard language closest to their own speech. One of the great stimulators in this development was the Czech educator and prelate Johann Amos Comenius, who was invited to

Sweden in 1642 to help reform its school system. His Janua Linguarum Reserata (1631) was translated into Sw by Erich Schroderus in 1642 and his Orbis Sensualium Pictus (1658) into Da by Hans Rhode in 1672; both were pioneering textbooks of Latin, which taught both Latin and the vernaculars by direct, practical methods, including pictures.

# (1) Purification by Grammar

12.6.1. The seventeenth century was a rich period for the dawning study of the native languages everywhere in Europe and not the least in Norden. In Germany 1617 saw the founding of Die fruchtbringende Gesellschaft for the cultivation of the German language, and corresponding efforts were not slow in appearing in Denmark and Sweden. Grammatica had been the first of the seven branches of learning in the Middle Ages, and its replacement by native grammars and grammarians meant the step-by-step transplantation of an intellectual discipline from the international to the national level. The first native grammars were in Latin: Erik Pontoppidan's Grammatica danica (1646) and Erik Aurivillius' Grammaticae suecanae specimen (1684). They were followed shortly by grammars in the native tongues: Peder Syv's Den danske Sprog-Kunst eller Grammatica (1685) and Nils Tiällman's Grammatica suecana (1696). Modeled on Latin grammar, they did not reveal unusual originality, but they did lay the foundation for a codification and cultivation of these languages on which later generations could build. There was a real urgency behind their work: in 1687 less than four percent of the children of Skåne could read and write; seventy percent were entirely illiterate (Skautrup 2. 307).

But these grammars were more than pedagogic devices: they were also inspirational manuals in national unification and self-improvement. 'It is my first duty to show my fatherland and its language some honor', wrote Peder Syv in the preface to Nogle Betenkninger om det Cimbriske Sprog ('Some Considerations about the Cimbrian Language', 1663). These writers were defending their rights against the dominant Latinity, and of course against German and their immediate neighbors. That they were also snobbishly subservient to the royal authority and the manners of the court was an inevitable part of the thinking of the times. Tiällman made it clear that he was describing 'only the best and right pronunciation', the one that agreed with the

royal decrees and the 'court language' (Håfspråket), which by now was distinct from the 'peasant language' (bondska, in Hiärne's phrase of 1716). An important part of their work was also the foundations they laid for dictionaries of Da and Sw. King Gustavus Adolphus called for a Sw dictionary in 1630 and Queen Christina for a language academy in 1652, dreams that were to be realized only much later. With royal support Mathias Moth in 1697 enlisted the pastors of the Dano-Norwegian kingdom to help him compile a complete dictionary of Da (and Nw) (his sixty folio volumes were done by 1709, but never published).

One of the serious problems that the grammarians undertook to solve was that of regulating the orthography, which involved them in often fruitless discussions between traditionalists and radicals. In Holberg's words, 'there are no wars as bitter as those fought by grammarians' (Epistel 415). They picked up arguments from classical grammarians as to whether one should 'speak as one wrote' or 'write as one spoke'; in the end, of course, neither side won. We have seen that the writing of Da and Sw influenced the form of the spoken norm, but conversely also that the spoken norm led to changes in the writing. No one has written a history of the 'doctrine of correctness' in Sc (as it has been studied for Eng), but there is a huge literature that offers many interesting views (Lollesgård 1925; N. Å. Nielsen 1949). The most arresting seventeenth-century figures are the Da Peder Syv (1631-1702) and the Sw Samuel Columbus (1642-78). The latter's unpublished books En Swensk Ordeskötsel, Angånde Bokstäfwer, Ord, ok Ordesätt (A Swedish Word-cultivation, Concerning Letters, Words, and Phrases, 1678, ed. Boström 1963) and Mål-roo eller Roo-mål (Language-fun or Fun-language, 1678, ed. Hesselman 1935) are gold-mines of information about the Sw language, and entertaining reading as well.

12.6.2. The eighteenth century was the real blossom time for normative grammar and rationalistic regulation, climaxing in the establishment by Gustavus III of the Sw Academy in 1786 and the publication of its Afhandling om Svenska Stafsättet (Treatise on Swedish Orthography, 1801). This somewhat pompous institution reflected the Gallicism of the Sw court in the rococo period; it promoted a high level of rhetorical style and formal oratory (Hillman 1962). A characteristic expression of the century was that the founder of modern Sw prose, the 'Spectator' of Sweden, Olof von Dalin, reissued his

periodical Then Swänska Argus (1732–4) twenty years after in a 'washed, combed and polished' version, eliminating its musty localisms in favor of a more elegant language. The chief norm-giver for Sw was Abraham Sahlstedt, whose grammar (1769) and dictionary (1773) attempted to eliminate alternations by rule and precept, e.g. limiting the vacillation of -et/-it in the perf. part. by assigning the former to the adjectival, the latter to the verbal use (är funnet is found, har funnit has found), a rule which Wessén (1968: 136) assures us was not fully established until the twentieth century. The most significant Sw scholar in the period was Johan Ihre, whose observations on the Gmc consonant shift in his etymological dictionary Glossarium Svio-gothicum (1769) anticipated the great discoveries of the following century.

Denmark produced a still more significant grammarian in Jens Pedersen Høysgaard, whose Accentuered og Raisonnered Grammatica (1747) and Methodisk Forsøg til en Fuldstændig Dansk Syntax (1752) laid the foundations of descriptive linguistics in Norden. His writings belong in the great tradition of European grammars, e.g. the Port Royal of the previous century, and is worthy of mention alongside the best of them. He was the first to observe and describe scientifically the Da glottal catch (stød), and his diagram of the vowel system would be creditable from a modern linguist. But he was too original to win followers: that became the function of Jacob Baden, whose Da grammar (1785) established the framework of Da school grammar for a long time to come. Da escaped an Academy, as did Ger and Eng, but got its lexical arbiter in Chr. Molbech, who in 1703 became an editor of the dictionary labored upon by the Da Academy of Sciences since 1745 (and completed in 1905!). He became the Samuel Johnson of Da by issuing his own dictionary, Dansk Ordbog, in two volumes (1828-33), as an 'interpreter of the correct use of the pure, cultivated written language in our present age'. In 1775 the government issued directives establishing the orthography of Ove Malling's Store og gode Handlinger af Danske, Norske og Holstenere ('Great and Good Deeds by Danes, Norwegians and Holsteiners', 1777) as a model for the schools.

r2.6.3. Another concern of the normative grammarians and lexicographers was for the 'purity' of their languages. As the writers of Da and Sw gradually freed themselves of foreign models and chose topics of interest to their own reading public, there was growing con-

cern about harmony of expression and intelligibility to the general reader. The mid eighteenth century was a dividing point between an 'older' and a 'newer' style, one which puts Holberg's work into the earlier period, among other things because of his fondness for French words and Latin syntax. Inspired by Dutch and Ger controversies of the period, newer writers called for a style that eliminated the free use of Lat and Fr words, demanding their replacement by native ones. Translators, textbook writers and authors tried, with varying success, to find equivalents, many of which did indeed become standard, while others survived as synonyms, e.g. tonekunst 'tone-art' beside musik, lægekunst 'medical art' beside medicin, sædelighed (from Ger Sittlichkeit) beside moral morality. Philosophers like F. C. Eilschow (1725–50) and publicists like J. S. Sneedorff (1724–64) were the most influential in creating a new style, the former by his Spectator-like periodical Den patriotiske Tilskuer ('The Patriotic Spectator', 1761–3). A paper by C. Fleischer (1765) explicitly formulated the policies of the purists: to avoid foreign words by favoring native synonyms (Leede, not Aversion), by keeping dying words alive (Borgen, not Cautionist), by using simple words (giekke, not ridiculere), by making new words of native materials (selskabelig, not sociable), by borrowing words from Sw or Nw (sysler, not Beskiæftigelse) and finally, by adapting the words to native forms when they were unavoidable.

Their cultivation of the language was not merely patriotic, but part of a rationalistic program of education: 'I regarded things much more than words, and the sciences more than the language', as Sneedorff put it. Through their creativity Da acquired or came to use words like fordom prejudice, forfatter author, omdomme judgment, tildragelse event, efterslægt posterity, en(s) formighed monotony, forædle ennoble, hensynsfuld considerate, læselyst love of reading, yderlighed extreme (for which Holberg regularly wrote extremitet). While some of these are clearly calqued on German, this was not felt to be objectionable. Writers like Jacob Baden and Sneedorff (and in Sweden Stiernhielm, see reading below) advocated it: 'The close agreement [of Da and Ger] entitles us Danes to make use of the riches of the Ger languages as our ancestral heritage' (Baden, as cited by Lollesgaard 1925: 105). Regrettably there was less cooperation in this respect between Da and Sw than there might have been; e.g. in replacing (partially) the Fr

jaloux jealous, Sw (and NN) came up with svartsjuk, Da (and DN) with skinsyg/skinnsyk.

12.6.4. The new spirit of self-assertion had some of its roots in Iceland, where Bishop Guðbrandur þorláksson had reminded his countrymen in the preface to his Visnabók (1612) that they 'needed no loans from other languages', and Arngrímur Jónsson lærði ('the learned') in his Crymogæa (1609) warned them against aping Danes and Germans, advising them that in their own ancient manuscripts they had a source of native learning. Criticism of the early Bible translation was heard (reading 12.7Af) and the seventeenth-century hymnist Hallgrímur Pétursson avoided some of its Danicisms, e.g. words like befala command. The manuscript collecting of Árni Magnússon in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was of crucial importance in the whole Nordic movement, bringing together as it did for the first time a fully representative collection of the literary production of medieval Iceland. The founding of an Ic Learned Society (Lærdómslistafélagið) in 1779 and its fifteen volumes of Ic publications (1781-96) made it possible for Icelanders and other Scandinavians to learn for the first time the nature of their own heritage. It was a policy of the Society to reduce the foreign elements in the language and to form new terms for the concepts of modern life.

Nevertheless Ic continued to be written in the semi-Danish orthography of the Bible (11.6.2(4)) down to the end of the eighteenth century. The first step towards a more traditional Ic orthography came with the Danish-educated poet and naturalist Eggert Ólafsson (1726-68), who wrote a treatise (1762) advocating a return to OIc orthography, including the use of accents ( $\acute{a}$   $\acute{i}$   $\acute{o}$ ) where some writers were using gemination (aa ii oo) as in Da, and the distinction of merged historical i and y (i and  $\dot{y}$ ). One of his followers, Olavius, went a step farther in advocating the introduction of  $\delta$  for medial d, kk for ck and unstressed i for e (sólen the sun > sólin). There were dissenting voices, even in Iceland, who favored the adoption of Da, but the pre-romantic and romantic views prevalent in Iceland as elsewhere forbade any further concessions. The Icelanders won strong support in the Da scholar Rasmus Rask, who not only saw the key to Sc language history in Ic, but also learned to speak the language and promoted its use and purity. He helped found the literary society Bókmenntafélagið (1816) and its journal Fjölnir (1835), which became the organ of the new literary and nationalistic trends of the Icelanders. The battle over Ic orthography was fought in its columns; in the end the solution was a predominantly OIc orthography, but with many concessions to current pronunciation, e.g. final  $-\delta$  for -t ( $h\acute{u}si\delta$  the house); -ur for -r ( $ma\delta ur$  man); o for  $\acute{a}$  after v (vor our) (J. A. Jónsson 1959). But there was no slacking in the urge to create Ic terminology, either on the part of literary or technical writers. The major poets, like Mattías Jochumsson (1835–1920) and Einar Benediktsson (1864–1940) were leaders in the return to the mother tongue; in a poem to his mother the latter coined a phrase which has been carved in stone over the portal of the University of Iceland:

Ég skildi að orð er á Íslandi til I understood that in Iceland words exist um allt sem er hugsað á jörðu. I understood that in Iceland words exist for all that is thought on earth.

12.6.5. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries became for the well-established standard written languages, Da, Sw and Ic, a period of cultivation and stabilization. Grammarian-linguists, following the lead of Grimm and Rask, turned to historical linguistics, and only occasionally forayed into the applied linguistic problems of the national languages. The spirit of the early nineteenth century was historical—one hesitates to say 'romantic' because of the unfortunate associations of the word-and for the national languages it meant their final and total emergence into the life of each nation. In Denmark and Sweden the period brought with it a new kind of cultivation, which emphasized the organic connection between nation and language, a perspective of history back to the runic inscriptions and forward to the literary triumphs of the day. The poets of the day celebrated the virtues of the mother tongue in terms that stirred the hearts in each country and tied the language closely together with love of home, mother, flag and nation (see the samples in 12.7B). For the first time the native languages also became an object of academic attention, through the establishment of professorships in Sc languages in the national universities: Copenhagen 1845 (N. M. Petersen), Uppsala 1858 (Carl Säve), Lund 1859 (C. A. Hagberg), Oslo 1866 (Sophus Bugge), Helsinki 1878 (Axel Olof Freudenthal), Reykjavík 1911 (B. M. Olsen), to name only the older universities (for further details see Skautrup 3. 140, 4. 56; Wessén 1968: 144). The first historical presentation of the Sc languages was by N. M. Petersen (1829-30), a remarkably sound account for its time. The novel perspectives offered by these and many other works led to an agitation for revival not only of ancient Sc words, but also for the inclusion in the norm of dialectal and pan-Scandinavian words. Although distinguished writers like N. F. S. Grundtvig in Denmark, Viktor Rydberg in Sweden, and Knud Knudsen in Norway promoted these ideas, the results were comparatively meager. Enthusiasms for the archaic, the dialectal and the Nordic were prevalent and catching, but their realization in practice was difficult, since the norms were by this time firmly established, and there were many counter-currents. These became especially apparent in the late nineteenth century, when realism and naturalism turned the attention of the general public away from the past to the problems of the present.

12.6.6. A rather special problem of purism and standards was that of Sw in Finland. In the rural districts of Åland, Norrbotten and elsewhere the dialects were related to correspondingly located dialects on mainland Sweden, with some conservative traits and some influences from Fi. But with the political separation from the mother country in 1809 a peculiar situation arose for the Swedish-speaking élite. Their language was a regional variety of standard Sw, which was cut off from official domination by Stockholm, and at the same time exposed to the threat of 'corruption' from local dialects and the growing strength of Fi. FiSw is generally characterized by lacking the tonal distinctions of standard Sw (high pitch on all stressed syllables) and by having unaspirated voiceless stops, both traits presumably due to Fi. While these constitute the so-called finska brytningen 'the Finnish accent', the guardians of Sw style in Finland found that the very survival of the language required that a vigorous effort be made to keep FiSw from deviating unreasonably from standard Sw. The remedy was offered by Hugo Bergroth, professor of Swedish at Helsinki University (in this context we should write 'Helsingfors'), who in 1917 published his volume Finlandssvenska, with the subtitle 'guide to the avoidance of provincialisms in speech and writing'. A school version was published under the title of Högsvenska 'high Swedish' (1918), which has run through numerous editions. The scientific interest of this book (which reflects the influences to which FiSw was subject) is obscured by its pedagogic intent: 'We may permit ourselves now and then to write Finlandic on purpose, but we must not do it from thoughtlessness.' It is significant that the Finland Swedes were the first Sc group to form a modern Committee for Language Cultivation (3.2).

#### (2) The New Standards

12.6.7. If Ic had not fought itself free of Da influence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is highly probable that Fa and Nw might not have done so either. The prestige of Ic after Rask's work in the early nineteenth century was such that it formed a model for all nativistic and puristic thinking. The ease with which Icelanders could read the old literature that was now a closed book to other Scandinavians confounded even Rask into identifying it with the CSc mother tongue. A linguistically conservative poet like the Nw Andreas Munch could write in an ecstatic poem to Iceland ('Yderst mod Norden lyser en Ø' 1848): There by a fire that never will die live the memories of 'our glorious forefathers', and there 'the Norse tongue' (Norronamaal) is honored; in Iceland 'is preserved the seed of life for days to come', even though 'our kinsmen' now are subject to Danish laws. Fa and NN are fairly direct offshoots of Ic in a sociolinguistic sense, though of course not linguistically. DN, in so far as it has undergone influence from NN, also owes something (though reluctantly) to Ic. We will here merely supplement briefly the accounts given earlier (2.2-2.4) of the rise of these languages.

(a) Faroese. When Rask brought Fa to the attention of the learned world in 1811, by including a short grammar of it in his Ic grammar, he thought of it as a dialect of Ic (Rask 1811: 262-82). When the Ic Saga of the Faroese was brought out in Fa translation in 1832, he advised the editor (Schrøter) on the orthography. He did not himself draw the consequences of his view of Fa as an Ic dialect, since his views on spelling were more phonetic than etymological. This was done by the Da linguist N. M. Petersen, who in turn advised Hammershaimb (Skårup 1964). Svabo (above 2.2) had made vast collections of Fa vocabulary and texts, but his orthophonic system of spelling did not meet the approval of the language planners of the early nineteenth century. Svabo himself realized that to become a standard language, Fa would have to be restored 'to its original purity' and 'given a new orthography'; but as an eighteenth-century rationalist he regarded this as a waste of energy that might rather be devoted to teaching his countrymen better Da (1773). Pastor Johan Henrik Schrøter (1771-1851) supplied the lacking enthusiasm, while the needed systematization came from the linguistic and historical scholars N. M. Petersen and Svend Grundtvig in Denmark and P. A.

Munch in Norway. These writers insisted that Ic (as the 'ancestor' of Fa) must become the model of Fa orthography, now that Fa was to be used at least on the elementary level in the schools being contemplated by the Da government. In Petersen's words (1845): 'The written language is a harmonization of the dialects, referred to the simple, noble, original form of the language.' The language form would have to be based on a thorough comparison between spoken Fa and ON, 'of which it is only a corrupted dialect', the corruption being chiefly due to Da influence. The result, as Hammershaimb worked it out, is a reconstruction of what is conceivably an older stage of Fa, prior to the diphthongization of its long vowels, the lengthening and diphthongization of many of its short vowels, the loss of its final and medial  $\delta$  and g, the merger of its unstressed i and u, and the development of its hiatus consonants (Verschärfung). At the same time, it is to a large extent a morphophonemic orthography, since it permits the writing of a word like dagur day nom. (gen. dags, dat. degi, acc. dag) so that the base dag- appears in each form (with i-umlaut in the dat.), while Svabo wrote the same forms deavur, dags, dëi, dea, as they are actually pronounced.

Linguists in the late nineteenth century, who argued for phonetic realism in orthography, tried hard to reverse the decisions taken by the founders of the new spelling. Jakob Jakobsen, a distinguished Fa linguist, tried in 1889 to persuade his countrymen to save their children the effort of applying all the rules necessary to reconstruct this spelling each time they learned to write. That he failed is in part due to the natural conservatism of those who have a learning investment in an orthography, but also to the fact that an orthography serves other functions than that of reflecting pronunciation. With skilled readers, reading does not proceed via vocalization, so that a stable word (and morpheme) image may be more important than its precise rendition in speech. Jakobsen's initiative led to extensive and bitter debate, and in the end some slight changes were achieved, but on the whole Hammershaimb's orthography has been accepted. Jakobsen was himself a master of Fa prose and created many of the terms still in use as replacements in writing of the Da words heard in speech (2.2).

Most of the original writing in Fa has consisted in stories and poems, plus school textbooks. The language was introduced into the schools in 1912, but was not on an equal footing with Da until 1938 and became the chief language when the Faroes were given home rule

in 1948. The New Testament appeared in full in 1937 and the whole Bible in 1961 (though a Free Church group had produced one in 1948). An Academy of Science was founded in 1952, which publishes the periodical Fróðskaparrit (Annales Societatis Scientiarum Færoensis) with articles in Faroese on a variety of scientific topics (with summaries in other languages). In 1968 the Academy established a research institute in Tórshavn, at which Christian Matras became the first professor (after many years at the University of Copenhagen). Progress has been rapid, but one still senses that there are many problems, and Da remains all-important as the chief language of contact with the outside world.

(b) New-Norwegian. The gradual introduction of Da in official documents in the sixteenth century (11.6.2c) left little if any traces in Nw speech of the time, since few could read, and most people continued to speak their local dialects (Indrebø NM 288-316). The gap between this speech and the Da writing was less in those parts of the country that faced Denmark than elsewhere, as in the southern coast towns (where p t k > b d g as in Da); or in Bohuslän (monophthongization also), which virtually linked Norway to Denmark by land (Seip 1921). As the writer Marcus Schnabel wrote in 1774, Norwegians 'could easily be confused as to what is really Norwegian and Danish in their language; for the Danish language they learn and the closely related mother tongue will easily get mixed, so that at last one does not know which is which'. Pastor Christen Jenssøn published a Norsk Dictionarium in 1646, dedicated to his countrymen, 'because our good and old Norwegian language is being mixed with many tongues and foreign languages'. The antiquarian renaissance of the seventeenth century also benefited the Nw language by preserving specimens of local dialect poetry and vocabularies, but in the thinking of the times language could not become an issue. 'Danish' was the name of the written language, and most writers treated all speech as deviant varieties of this. Henrik Gerner, one of the best grammarians of the period, wrote (1678-9): 'Nor is Cimbrian [i.e. Jutlandic], Norwegian, Icelandic, Swedish, Fynsk, Mønsk etc. to be considered the best Danish, for . . . while each of them is surely a kind of Danish, it is not the right or the best, which now should be called correct Danish.' Seip (1921) cites this passage to show that Nw was considered a dialect, a regional variety of Da.

Such attitudes prevailed as long as language was a purely

administrative problem. One's loyalty was to the king, who symbolized the government as a political entity, quite without consideration of one's language; in the Da kingdom this was as true of Ger speakers as of Da and Nw. It was only when the concept of a nation as a people came into being in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that language could become an issue. In the eighteenth century the brilliantly successful participation of Nw writers, above all Holberg, in the spread and fixation of the Da language made most literate Norwegians feel that the written language was not the peculiar property of the Danes, but a common heritage. That they spoke differently was no more important than that Tutes and Scanians also had their regional varieties. The prestige of Copenhagen court speech was a social rather than a political fact. Throughout the eighteenth century local poets used Nw dialects, usually for humorous purposes, and interested amateurs collected information about the speech forms. But as the standards of Da writing tightened, Nw like any other regional variety in the Dano-Norwegian kingdom was excluded from serious writing. Nw grammarians writing around the turn of the century asserted the right of Norwegians to participate in shaping the 'common language'; the Nw pastor H. M. Winsnes wrote in 1807: 'I live and die in the conviction that all the sons of the twin kingdom are one people, and have in common one language, the wealth of this language and all other advantages.' He went so far as to declare his love for this common language: 'Not even the French language is more suited for a billet doux than the delightful (nydelige) Danish language' (Seip 1921: 33).

Down to 1814 any notion of an independent Nw language was generally felt to be an unrealistic dream, or even downright treason. That it was not unknown is shown by the preface to Hallager's Norsk Ordsamling (1802), cited below (12.7Ah). The founding of a Nw Scientific Society in Trondheim in 1771 and a Nw university in Christiania (Oslo) in 1811 promoted research into the peculiarities of Nw dialects. In the midst of the war years (1807–8) a Nw student in Copenhagen could jot down as a possible topic for a dissertation: 'Why does not Norway have its own national language? The advantages of the Nw dialects and the possibility of their union into a complete national written language' (Seip 1924: 135). In 1811 Selskabet for Norges Vel offered a prize for an essay on 'The Importance of the Icelandic Language', but the winner was a Da pastor

who saw its value only in enriching the 'common' language of the kingdom. With the splitting of the kingdom in 1814 a new situation arose, and the first young generation, which came to maturity around 1830, took up for discussion the idea of a real Nw language.

The Nw constitution had compounded the general confusion by declaring that the language of Norway should be 'Norwegian', by which the writers meant the traditional language of writing that was common to the Dano-Norwegian kingdom. The law faculty of the University defended this use of the term in 1815: 'This language is Norway's as well as Denmark's possession, for it is a development of our ancestors' language, and Holberg, Wessel, Tullin, Nordahl Brun, Treschow and others with them have earned us the fullest right to call this language ours, even its most recent form' (Seip 1947: 41). But in 1835 the flaming young national poet Henrik Wergeland wrote his manifesto for Nw linguistic independence: 'Concerning Norwegian Language Reformation'. In allusion to the constitutional discussion he wrote: 'It is no longer the name of a Nw written language and a Nw literature that the Norwegians wish to gain . . . but it is the reality of an independent written language that challenges the spirits of Norway. . . . Time must bring this about by itself before the century sets, and so much the sooner as our efforts unite.' He was aware that this would require 'a literary civil war', as in other countries, but felt that this was a small price to pay for the democratic, esthetic and national values of an independent language.

The history of nineteenth-century Nw is the story of the 'literary civil war' which it took to bring about the new language; unfortunately it brought not one but two languages. Far outside the circle of lay and learned discussants in Christiania the self-taught peasant schoolteacher Ivar Aasen formulated the ideas that he was later to realize with the single-minded devotion of genius. In a sober essay which he wrote in 1836 when he was twenty-three years old, he proposed a concrete plan for creating a new Nw written language: this should build not on any specific dialect but on a sound linguistic comparison of the Nw dialects, to extract their common structure. Competent linguists should codify the resulting language in a complete grammar and dictionary, which would make it possible for anyone who wished, to write the language. Aasen's ideas were in the spirit of his times; he made himself familiar with the work of Rask on Ic, and his grammatical sketch of the Sm dialect was based on the old language.

With support from the Scientific Society of Trondheim he did field-work on the Nw dialects and produced a grammar (1848) and a dictionary (1850), which then made it possible for him to bring forth his first official NN form in 1853. In this and later publications he showed that the language could be used in poetry, translations and serious discourse on technical subjects. We have already sketched the further development of his norm (2.3), which may be called 'a reconstructed, classical standard' for the Nw dialects (Haugen 1965a). It would no doubt have been acceptable to most Norwegians had it not been that it lacked the prestige of a written tradition and an urban speech community to support it. In its opponents' eyes it represented too radical a break with the centuries of Dano-Norwegian commonality, a rejection of the cultural tradition that was the heritage of the Da language. As it was, Aasen's norm was less archaic than some of his advisers had wanted it, e.g. P. A. Munch (T. Knudsen 1923).

Nevertheless, it did make inroads on the monopoly of Da in the schools and eventually in government. Some of the mileposts were: recognition of official equality in 1885, admission to local schools at the option of school boards in 1892, a professorship at the University of Oslo 1899 (M. Hægstad), required subject for prospective teachers 1902, required for admission to the University 1907. In 1929 it was officially renamed nynorsk 'New Norwegian' after having been known since its inception as landsmål 'Country Language' from the title of Aasen's 1853 book. By this time its position seemed secure, thanks to a rich production of distinguished and even great literature, with nationally read authors like A. O. Vinje, Arne Garborg, Olav Duun, Olav Aukrust, Inge Krokann and Tarjei Vesaas. Everyone had been required to learn to read it, and the schools in which it was the first language comprised one-third of all schoolchildren-all, to be sure, rural. This high point was reached in 1942, but since that time it has continually declined, owing to the increasing urbanization of the country: today less than a fifth of the children learn it as their first language, which is only about thirty percent of the rural children. Meanwhile it has served the important function of being a standard for potential nativization of the old Da written language, and the chief problem is no longer the possibility of clear-cut NN victory, but the extent to which it will dominate the eventual form of the Nw language that must emerge from the crucible of the language controversy.

(c) Dano-Norwegian. The beginnings of a new Nw literature in the Da language emerged in the sixteenth century, and included an important translation by Peder Claussøn Friis (1545-1614) of Snorri Sturluson's History of the Kings of Norway (Heimskringla), written c. 1600 but not printed until 1633. These early writers built on the Da of the Reformation period, and were often quite free in their use of Nw regionalisms. As the Da standard became firmer, and the school systems more established, the adherence of Nw writers to a Da standard became closer (Iversen 1921, 1931). In a writer like Holberg, who was born in Norway and lived there until his student days in Copenhagen, there are detectable traces of the Nw background from the city of Bergen (Seip 1954; Skautrup 3. 26-8). There is no evidence that Norwegians actually spoke Da, except for some of the students who had lived a long time in Copenhagen. There was a predominance of Da speakers among the officials that ruled the country in the seventeenth century, and their prestige contributed to efforts on the part of the Norwegian-born (including the children of the Danes) to imitate Da speech. The new upper middle-class that grew into the aristocracy of modern Norway created its own lingua franca in the form of a Da spoken with Nw tongues, which we have here called 'Dano-Norwegian' (cf the definition of the 'best Italian' as lingua toscana in bocca romana).

The existence of such a supralocal Nw variety of Da is attested from the end of the seventeenth century, e.g. by the Nw word list of J. Ramus (1698, ed. Kolsrud 1956), where he cites the dialect phrase Hand har lært at knote He has learned to talk like a snob about someone who tries to speak Da. Less than a century later the Da pastor and writer J. N. Wilse could claim that the pronunciation of Da in Christiania was the closest to written Da of all the dialects in the kingdom: 'The most refined and letter-perfect pronunciation is that of Christiania, and there is spoken the prettiest Da, except for the admixture of some provincial words' (Indrebø NM 319). He found it superior to that of Copenhagen, which may serve as another example of the common notion that the 'best' pronunciation is the one closest to the spelling (e.g. the 'best' Ger is spoken in Hannover, or the 'best' Sw is spoken in Linköping, see Gjerdman 1918), rather than the one that develops in the capital as informal speech among the upper classes.

The emergence in 1814 of the speakers of this lingua franca as the

leaders of a new nation made it inevitable that their speech would become prestigeful. Not only was the pronunciation native both in phonetic and prosodic qualities, but in its actual spoken form the DN standard deviated from Da by retaining Nw word forms for many everyday words, by having developed grammatical forms of its own and by making use of many words that were unknown in Da. Together, these idiosyncratic features made spoken Nw so different from spoken Da that Norwegians were then (and are still) mistaken for Swedes when they visit Denmark. In the struggle for dominance in the new nation between written DN and the NN norm after the mid nineteenth century, DN suffered from its obvious written identity with the Da of Denmark. There was room for a movement that would remove the specially Da features and bring the writing into line with the actual speech of the leading classes. This was essentially the program that Knud Knudsen (2.4) initiated in 1845 and agitated for tirelessly throughout his life: 'Give the Norwegian permission to speak Norwegian and not Danish or Swedish, but give him also permission to write as he himself speaks and not like the others' (T. Knudsen 1923: 84). Knudsen was less of a linguist than Aasen and more of an educator, and his sympathies were with the pupils whose learning problems would be eased by a more native language. He wanted it closer to Nw speech, but he recognized that the cultivated standard was the first and most immediate goal of education. Many problems beside those of spelling were involved, e.g. the development of a Nw theater and a norm for its pronunciation.

The classical breakthrough of DN as a Nw language came with the writings of Bjørnson (Synnøve Solbakken, 1857) and Ibsen (Peer Gynt, 1867), where the outer Da framework was retained, but the 'inner form' was Nw. From here it was only a matter of time until the shell fell away and the Nw structure stood revealed, through the so-called 'spelling' reforms of 1907, 1917 and 1938. The net effect of these was to remove any possible effect of spelling pronunciation or Da influence as normative in Nw writing. Contrary to the trend in Da and Sw, speech became the norm for writing, at least until such time as the writing ceased to be flexible. The changes in recent years were to some extent controversial, since they involved actual changes in grammar and word structures in the direction of NN (or even dialect). The declared policy of the national parliament, at least from 1938, was a more or less forced amalgamation of the two lan-

guages, to be supervised by an advisory Language Commission established in 1951. After endless controversy (Haugen 1966b: 272-4, Nw version: 228-34) it was agreed to seek a political solution by establishing a Language Council with representatives of all linguistic views and no mandate to press amalgamation beyond its natural progress. The Council entered upon its work in the autumn of 1971.

#### (3) Style in Language

12.6.8. A standard language is not a rigid framework or mould into which all its users must pour their expression. Its norms are neither immutable nor inflexible, though some of the eighteenth-century grammarians seemed to think so. In their concern about 'correctness' they excluded from the norms every form of 'barbarism' they could find, which in practice meant not only deviations in spelling and grammar, but also the illogicalities, the improvisations, the localisms, in short everything that characterized real speech. Reviewers of books were often more concerned with correctness of language than with content or effectiveness. This was a general European phenomenon, reflecting the Classical tradition, as taken over by the French, and imposed on the vernaculars in their efforts to gain full status as languages of culture.

Classical rhetoric did, however, admit 'beauty' as a desideratum and created an elaborate terminology of the metres and tropes that could provide it. Through the Pléiade in France and Opitz in Germany these came to Scandinavia with such baroque writers as the Da Arrebo (1587-1637) and the Sw Stiernhielm (1598-1672). Prior to this time there had been little that one could call conscious style in Sc. The writers of the Reformation were concerned with their message and could often express it forcefully and in popular terms (Olaus Petri, Hans Tavsen). But the school drama that was carried on after the model of the Latin drama of the Middle Ages was one in which every character spoke in exactly the same style, from clod to princess. As more Latin works were rendered into Sc, the word choice became more learned and the syntax more intricately intertwined in the Lat manner, for which the Sc languages were ill suited. The mannerisms of the baroque added to this syntax an ornamentation that greatly expanded the possibilities of stylistic variation. Writers like the Sw Bureus (1568-1652) called for the admission to the Sw standard of native words, including even the archaic and the vulgar. In Stiernhielm's didactic poem *Hercules* (1658) the style ranged from the lofty and solemnly archaic to the realistic or even folksy phrase (Lindroth 1913). With the development of a firm standard of 'cultivated' speech in the late seventeenth century, it became possible to play with the social differences between this and the daily speech of the common people for literary effect. But the uses of vulgarity were still sporadic, without consistent stylistic differentiation; from the writings of the time one gets the effect of a very forthright daily speech even in the highest circles, with an abundance of oaths and obscenities (Hellquist 1902; Skautrup 2. 310–12).

12.6.9. For a standard language to have style it is necessary that there be choice: choice among dialects, constructions, grammatical forms, words, even sounds. But the choice must be determinate, so that each selection is governed by conditions (rules, if you will) that are apparent to the receiver of the message (or that could be apparent if he were initiated). In Sc the eighteenth-century writers did their best to limit the choices to a rational style, one that would primarily convey information in an orderly and regular way. But cultivation also meant refinement, a choice of terms that would be acceptable in the fussiest of drawing-rooms. The development was apparent even during Holberg's lifetime. Holberg was without comparison the most gifted user of the Dano-Norwegian language up to his time and is still a beloved classic. His comedies exhibit a range of styles, from the bookish speech of the pastor and the judge to the vulgarisms of the people. He found the puristic efforts of his countrymen ridiculous: 'It is a virtue to follow our ancestors' customs, but a folly to want to talk like King Dan's greatgrandmother' (Moralske Tanker, Libr. III. Epigr. 85). As for the vulgarisms, he suggested that ladies who were too delicate to tolerate words like 'canaille, maidenhead, and the like' might better stay away from his comedies (Epistle 249). Nevertheless, he did change foreign words to native in reissuing some of his works, e.g. animositet > fiendtlighed, contradictioner > modsigelser, destruction > ødelæggelse, imitere > efterabe, omission > udeladelse, (Dannemarks Riges Historie, 1. ed. 1732-3, 2. ed. 1753-4; Skautrup 3. 53). Canons of good taste developed which caused his immediate successors in the late eighteenth century to condemn his style for its excesses in both directions—Latinity and vulgarity. The founder of Sw prose style, Olof von Dalin (1708-63), suffered from the same need for a revision of style: in the second edition of Then Swenska

Argus (1754) he exchanged abusive or dialectal terms like dumhufvud dunderhead, skiälm rascal, framknotade stuttered forth, påta ihiäl kill off for more neutral or respectable words (Wikander 1924).

- 12.6.10. The pre-Romantic and Romantic era in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries brought with it a new style, in which the rational and informative yielded to the emotional and inspirational. The doctrine of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) in Germany was that the national language was an organic whole, in which the character and spirit of the entire people found its expression. The 'sacredness' of the national language of which Molbech wrote in 1815 could not apply only to the rhetorical or official style. The totality of the language included, but was not identical with, the central norm, which could serve as a reference for a variety of styles, each 'correct' for its purpose, whatever that might be. We shall briefly characterize some of these, in terms of certain key aspects: (a) archaism, which in Sc meant Nordicism; (b) localism, the rendition of dialect; (c) legalism, with which we may include the bureaucratic chancery style; (d) scientism, the language of specialized knowledge and science; (e) journalism, the omnibus style of reportage.
- (a) Archaism. The exhumation of Nordic, primarily Ic, texts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served writers like Stiernhelm as support for patriotic purism (since the Ic texts were taken as common Sc property). Translators of the sagas and Eddas created a special Old Nordic style, with numerous loanwords like andas die (which in current Sw meant 'breathe'), Da Sw sot/Nw sott illness (ON sott, obsolete except in cpds like gulsot jaundice etc.), viking, berserk, holmgang duel, bane death, slayer, etc. They also adopted turns of phrase (e.g. kennings) and syntactic constructions which were obsolete, especially inversions which postponed the subject: Ung var Ivar Young was Ivar. These translations were received with enthusiasm by the romantics and worked up into a pseudo-Icelandic style by such writers as the Da Ewald (1770), Oehlenschläger and Grundtvig, the Sw Tegnér (Frithiofs saga, 1825), Geijer, Almqvist and Rydberg, the Nw Wergeland, Bjørnson and Ibsen.

In its most extreme form this style had run its course by 1864, when realism dispelled the fogs of romanticism. But it continued to be a resource to which writers could turn, either in a serious medieval pastiche like the Nw Sigrid Undset's Kristin Lavransdatter (1920) or a rollicking satire like the Sw Frans G. Bengtsson's Röde Orm (1941)

and Ic Halldór Laxness's Gerpla (1952). The Nordic pastiche was not the only style that could be revived with archaizing effect; mixed with it was often the medieval ballad style, as in Geijer, Oehlenschläger and Ibsen. More specifically national styles like the OSw of Heidenstam's Folkungaträdet or the ODa of Grundtvig (from Vedel's translation of Saxo Grammaticus) were usually amalgamated into a generally Nordic style that was known in Sw as göticism, from the Romantic writers of the early nineteenth century who united in their admiration of the 'Goths' (L. Moberg 1936).

(b) Localism. What had been excluded from the 'cultivated' norm (12.6.2) continued to exist, in town and country, as common speech, and it came back into writing as local color, once that became a desirable feature of literature. Dialects without an élite and a school system behind them were doomed to serve as mere spice and ornament in the national language. The breakthrough of written dialect in Blicher's E Bindstouw (In the Spinning Room, 1842), a story of Iutland life in IvDa, was prepared by a long tradition (that had become a cliché) concerning the 'wealth' and 'purity' of the dialects and their availability as a source of renewal for the national language. The genre that really offered a path for localisms into the language was the folktale. Norwegian Folktales of Asbjørnsen and Moe (1841 ff.) became the greatest stimulus of the DN separatist movement, a classic example of how the Da written language could absorb a host of Nw words and constructions (which of course were only 'dialectal' at the time). The translation or transposition of spoken language into writing was a process requiring great literary tact, which these two writers possessed. Of course, the genius in this field was Hans Christian Andersen, whose Fairytales Told for Children (1835 ff.) adapted the folktale for the nursery and in doing so created a stylistic amalgam of daily speech and romantic moralization. The effects of the folktale are felt throughout modern Sc literature as a stylistic dimension with its own special features of simplicity in syntax, concreteness of word choice and concern with the folk.

The folktale in a more sustained genre became the *novel*, which in its early forms benefited from the simplicity of the former, as in the novels of Almqvist, Bremer, Strindberg and Lagerlöf in Sweden, Blicher, Andersen and Johannes V. Jensen in Denmark, Bjørnson, Lie, Garborg and Hamsun in Norway, Jón Thoroddsen and Gunnar Gunnarsson in Iceland. But the novel was a genre that encompassed

every aspect of human life, especially under realism and naturalism, where characters were introduced speaking their own language, whether it was dialect or standard. Such 'literary' dialect was of course not generally a precise recording of actual speech, but made use of various devices for indicating known speech forms: misspellings of words, elisions of letters, deviant words or constructions. Readers in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries were gradually trained (over some protest) to accept and value these breaks in the norm, used for an effect that could range from humor to pathos.

(c) Legalism. The laws of the OSc period were gradually replaced by modern laws in which the style retained little if anything of the directness and simplicity of the old oral laws, except for some of the Sw laws (above 12.2.2a). They were formulated to meet all possible contingencies of administration, which naturally increased as the administration became more complex (Parkinson's Law). Since the administration was an outgrowth of the royal chanceries of the Middle Ages, this style became known as chancery style (Kancellisprog, from Ger Kanzleisprache). The legal mind operated to produce (in line with a tradition going back at least to the Romans) a complex, hypotactic sentence structure, with a forest of subordinate clauses leading up to and away from a main clause, and with intercalated clauses and parentheses, which made the decipherment increasingly difficult. Impersonal and passive constructions were employed to avoid personal responsibility: de medfølgende Bilag forventes efter endt Afbenyttelse tilbagesendte the accompanying enclosures are expected after concluded utilization [to be] returned (Skautrup 3. 261).

The precision aimed at in this style required elaborate definitions and a rigid maintenance of terminology that was as far as possible from the loose but comfortable usages of everyday speech. One result was the preservation of Lat and Ger words which were lost or unknown elsewhere, e.g. ventilation for overvejelse discussion, bemeldte above-mentioned, to name two. Constructions deriving from the same sources were also common. Efforts made in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to revise and simplify legal terminology were not especially successful. The work of Robberstad (1930 ff.) in translating the Nw laws from DN into NN resulted in a style that immediately appealed as having achieved a useful simplification, even to critics who were not favorable to the use of NN. The legalistic or chancery style was also a marked feature of commercial

correspondence, with necessary modifications: a highly formalized

language under the pressure of precision.

(d) Scientism. The term Da videnskab/Sw vetenskap (calqued on LG wetenskap) did not acquire its present meaning of a 'rationally cultivated discipline', i.e. science, until mid eighteenth century, with the founding of Vetenskapsakademien (1739) in Stockholm and Videnskabernes Selskab (1742) in Copenhagen. In Da and Sw (and today in DN and NN) it is accepted that the terms of science are international and should be as close as possible to those in common use in the world of science. Attempts in the eighteenth century and later to replace the international Greco-Latin terminology with native equivalents succeeded only in creating occasional synonyms for popularizers. The Da H. P. Selmer (1828 ff.) and the Nw Knud Knudsen (esp. in his dictionary Unorsk og norsk 1881) tried to persuade their countrymen to root out words like teologi in favor of gudsvidenskab 'god-science' or gudlærdom 'god-learning', but succeeded only in raising their hackles or their smiles. Ic was a different story, where the word did in fact become guðfræði along with all the other -'ologies', for which  $fr \not x \partial i$  wisdom, knowledge (> 'science') was available as an acceptable suffix.

There is today at any rate no problem in introducing into a technical discussion any international term whatever, at least if it has a Lat-Gr structure. For example in linguistics the advent of 'structuralism' with its concept of the 'phoneme' merely produced the new words strukturalisme and fonem in Da, Sw and Nw. The development of a linguistics that calls itself 'transformational' and 'generative' has merely added the words transformationel/Nw -sjonell and generativ to the technical jargon of the field. That this creates problems for the average person who is trying to follow the growth of the various disciplines is obvious, but no more of a problem than in English, where such terms are almost equally impenetrable. Special commissions are at work in each country, providing equivalents for a wealth of new terms, e.g. Tekniska Nomenklaturens Publikationer in Sweden, see especially their study of the language of technology (TNC 44, 1970). The various technologies that have grown up are a more complicated problem, since they generally mediate between the pure sciences and the average consumer. In so far as they are old handicrafts, their terminology is shot through with MLG words going back to the Middle Ages. The newer crafts are dominated by HG, Fr and Eng approaches, each of which has left its impress. Native handicrafts have brought into general use a number of terms like the Sw slöjd handicraft, esp. woodworking, Nw bunad native costume (formerly nationaldragt), Nw brukskunst arts and crafts.

(e) Journalism. The press (12.2.2f) has become not only the chief reading material of the masses, but also the repository of practically every style one can mention. From the legalese of official proclamations to the informality of the columnist every kind of language that is fit to print (and what is not?) can be found in the columns of present-day newspapers (and periodicals). The journalistic language proper is that of the news story, the reportage, which is written under the pressure of time, and must be at once precise, concise and interesting. It is a language of clichés, of current fashions in word making, and of the over-sell. In Sc there is the additional problem that much of the news has to be translated on the spot from telegrams submitted by international news bureaus, with the consequent liability to borrowing and interference. Headlines and advertisements offer special problems by their simultaneous demands of concision and wide appeal. In general, journalistic style has run through a rapid evolution in the past century, from a somewhat solemn prose to one that is in keeping with the rapid-fire changes of modern life. While this is true in all the Sc countries, it is perhaps most noticeable in Sw, where the dropping of the verb plurals in the 1950s was only one of a number of changes making the language more supple and varied than ever before.

In sum we can say that the trend of prose has been away from a single 'correct' norm to one that is endlessly varied in ordered ways. Sc studies of stylistics since Cederschiöld (2. ed. 1902) and handbooks like Wellander's Riktig svenska (commissioned by the Sw Academy and now in its third edition, 1963) have emphasized as central a so-called normalprosa (or sakprosa), characterized (in Wellander's words p. 20) by 'a sober, orderly and serious objectivity (saklighet)', which employs form in the service of content. On the one side of this is högprosan 'the high prose', which Wellander calls den vittra prosan 'literary prose', and characterizes as 'a more or less elevated (högstämt), personally colored language', which appeals to the emotions and the imagination and devotes primary attention to form. On the other side is lågprosan 'the low prose', which Wellander calls den lediga prosan 'informal prose', which is 'a personally colored, but artless

and unpretentious' style, approaching the forms of daily speech. As Wellander sensibly points out, the terms 'high' and 'low' are obsolete, and there are no watertight compartments between the styles. One may compare this tripartite division with the 'five clocks' of M. Joos (1962): his 'frozen style' is the 'high prose' of Sc, his 'formal' the 'normal prose', his 'informal' the 'low prose'. But there is no provision for his central style, 'consultative', which is a spoken rather than a written *normalprosa*, or his 'intimate' style, which is also a spoken style, not provided for in the Sc scheme.

12.7 Texts. The passages chosen to illustrate the language of the period fall into two groups: (A) Establishing the Languages, (B) Celebrating the Languages. The texts in (A) are mostly by grammarians of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, discussing the problems of their languages. The (B) texts are mostly poems, in prose or verse, which hammer home the theme of the 'mother tongue' and its significance for the nation; they are from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In each group the selections are arranged by country, in the order: Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, Faroes, Norway. Contemporary non-linguistic texts have not been included, since they are easily available elsewhere.

TEXTS 417

## A: ESTABLISHING THE LANGUAGES (SEVENTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES)

#### (a) Denmark 1: Should we write as we speak?

Jeg finnis at haffve merfeb nogle Grundfletnes hvor paa benne tids feplende Striffe er byggeb i hvilche Jeg meener nodvendigt enden at fortaffes eller at rette.

r. De forft fliber Jeg een ubragen aff Scaligeri Rouft Rammer / Hubende faaledis : Dand fal. Briffbe fom mand taler: Denne Reget finnis bel at burbe nogenlebis rettis; Thi ftal bi ftriffve fom bi taler / faa feriffver albrig nogen Ibbe/ Sonboel Menboel Staaning oc end en een Gorbelandsf; indfobde i hvereten fom hand faler i en beller ret oc gor Danfe; Thi hand ice taler ret. Der for-uben haffver hver Landiprot jaa mange Subdialecter, at be ere fnart utallige; oe beraff fommer bet / at bi finde ubt mange Boger abfeillige blanbebe Orb. Beler bet faa at Maalet var forend Striffen: feal . wi berfor friffve fom bi tale? Der vidis idel Almindeligheb. Di vare Born i forend vi bleffve Mend; berfore fent vi ice altid giore fom Gorn. Om vore Fæbre vare groffve, feulbe vi derfor feriffve effer bes ris Groffheb? Zungemaglene bare aff begynbeifen ! undragen Debraifte i forberffvebe ec Corrupta, fom Bubs Janb lærer Gen. XI. Striffver Jeg ba fom Jegtaler/ baffriffver Jeg Corrupte. Men effere fom be flofte Elber ufeilbartigen bagtigen meere expolerer fig (ellers er alt vort Arbend forgiefivis) faa er Striffulngen it Konft-flyde at en Zirlighed / paa hvilden pi baglig befitte os : Da berfo bend Corrupe Cale at fene fig effeer bend excolerede Striff. 93 ti

Deffe! paa det bi or maa faat je excolered Magli Menniftene varectiferend kowen; som retter kasternes or dog maa jo Mennistene rette sig ester kowernet. Opperfor kulde icke or Mennistene rette deris Agie effere een ret Spiffningt ellechwortif ere alle de præcepes Grammaticalia in lingvis 2: De Stressie lit. I bervifininger om Oprockenes myttiges.

, Scal; lib. I. C. L. L.

I believe I have observed some of the cornerstones on which the erroneous writing of this age is built, which I think it is necessary either to reject or to correct.

1. And first I find one drawn from [J. C.] Scaliger's Treasury¹ which runs as follows: One should write as one speaks. This rule, it would seem, ought to be corrected somewhat. For if we are to write as we speak, then no Jutlander, Fyn-dweller, Møn-dweller, Skåning, or even any native of Sjælland writes either as he speaks, or correct and good Danish; for he does not speak correctly. Besides this, every region's language has so many subdialects that they are virtually innumerable, and this is the reason that we find in many books a great number of mixed words. It is true enough that speech existed before

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<sup>1</sup> De causis linguæ latinæ [London, 1540] Book I.

writing: should we therefore write as we speak? That is not the general opinion. We were children before we became men; we should not therefore always behave as children. If our ancestors were rude, should we therefore write with their rudeness? Languages, excepting Hebrew, were from the beginning debased and corrupted, as God's spirit teaches us in *Genesis* 11. If I write as I speak, I am then writing corruptly. But since recent times unfailingly have been daily growing more polished (otherwise our work is all in vain), therefore writing is an art and an adornment at which we work diligently every day: So our corrupt speech should adapt itself to our cultivated writing in order that we may also get a cultivated speech. Men existed before the law that corrects our vices, and yet men must obey the laws: why should men not also correct their speech according to a correct writing? Or to what use are all the *præcepta Grammaticalia in linguis*, i.e. the written instructions about languages?

(Da: Henrich Gerner: Orthographia Danica, Cop. 1679, pp. 19-20; reprinted in Bertelsen 1915-29: 3. 62.)

(b) Denmark 2: Author Holberg protests against anarchy in spelling

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# Orthographiste Anmert. ninger.

Iffe faa efterfolgende Orthographiste Unsmerkninger sigte ikke til at stifte Regler, og at foreskrive Love til andre; men allene giore rede for min egen Skrivemaas

Jeghaaber at ingen ber udover fand med Billighed beitoldemig for Novitet : Thi jeg fremforer intet Myt; men grunder allene mine Unmerknins ger paa beres Sfrive-Maade, fom mest synes at ftemme overeens med Fornuft og Analogie. Jeg vilde onfe, at en anden, fom feer dybere udi diffe Ting, vilde for Alvor tage sig for at remedere den Misorden, hvorover vi af Fremede faa oftehore ilde, thi hoad faud være hæfligere end at enhver ffris ber og bogstaverer lige som det falber bam ind. Om viffe autoriserede Mand togesigfor at give orthographifte Regler, vilde jeg være den førfte at rette mig berefter, endftiondt jeg, efter mit tyfe, funde give bedre Raifon til en og anden Ting : Thi, ligefom Det erbedre at leve under harde love end under Anarchie, fan er det sinuttere at alle strive paa een Maa-De, ftiondt mindre begvem, end at enhver bogftavererligesom han fager Indfald til.

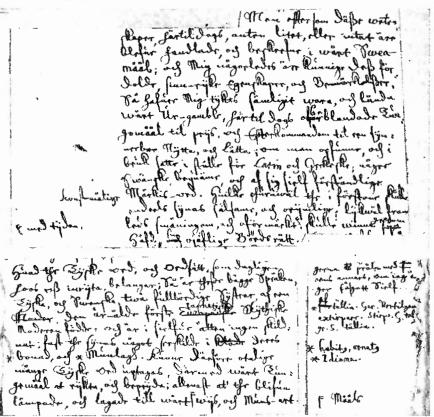
#### Orthographic Comments

These few following orthographic comments do not aim to establish rules, and to prescribe laws for others; but only to account for my own mode of writing. I hope that in this matter no one can justly accuse me of novelty: for I advance nothing new; but solely base my comments on the mode of writing of those who seem best to agree with reason and analogy. I would wish that another, who sees more profoundly in these things, would seriously undertake to remedy the disorder of which we are so often accused by foreigners, for what can be more repulsive than that each person shall write and spell in whatever way it occurs to him. If certain authorized men undertook to give orthographic rules, I would be the first to follow them, even if in my own opinion I could give better reasons for this or that: for, just as it is better to live under harsh laws than under anarchy, so it looks finer for all to write in one way, though a less convenient one, than for everyone to spell according to his own fancy.

(Da: Ludvig Holberg, Metamorphosis eller Forvandlinger ved Hans Mikkelsen Borger og Indvaaner udi Callundborg, Med Nogle Orthographiske Anmerkninger, Cop. 1726, p. 92. The opening of a long essay on orthography by the Norwegian-born 'father of Danish literature', typical of eighteenth-century rationalism. Reprinted in Bertelsen 1915–29, vol. 4.)

TEXTS 42I

(c) Sweden 1: The polymath Stiernhielm on Latin and German words in Swedish



Men eftersom dässe wetenskaper, härtildags, anten litet, eller intet äre blefne handlade, och beskrefne i wårt Swea-måål; och Mig någorledes äre kunnige dess fördolde, sinn-ryke Egenskaper, och Bemärkelser, Så hafuer Mig tyckts sämligit wara, och lända wårt Ur-gamble, härtildags obeblandade Tungomåål til prys, och Efterkommandom til en synnerbar Nytta, och Lätta, om man opfunne, och i bruk satte i ställe för Latin och Grekiska, någre Swänske, bequäme, och af sig sjelf förständlige, konstmätige Märkis-ord. Huilke ehuruwäl the i förstone skulle endeels synas sälsame, och orymlige, lykwäl framleds smålingom, och oförmärkt, med tyden, skulle winna genom Häfd, sin ojäflige Bördsrätt....

Huad the Tyske ord, och Ordsätt, som dagligen hoos oss inryta, belangar; Så är thesse bägge Språken, Tyska, och Swenska, twå fullbördige Systrar af een, den ur-ålde förste Japhetiske Skythiske Moderen födde, och är i sjelfue ätten ingen skildnad; fast the synas något serskilde i deras \*bonad (\*habit, ornat) och \*munlag (\*Idioma). Kunne därföre otalige månge Tyske ord uptagas, därmed wårt tungomåål at rykta, och bepryda, allenast at the blifua lämpade, och lagade till wårt Mååls wys, och Mund-art.

But inasmuch as these sciences have so far been either little or not at all treated and described in our Swedish language, and I have some degree of knowledge concerning its hidden and ingenious qualities and significance; therefore it has seemed to me to be proper and to benefit our ancient and so far unmixed tongue and be an evident use and easement for posterity, if one should invent and put to use, instead of Latin and Greek, some Swedish terms that would be convenient, understandable in themselves and artful. Which, even if they should at first appear somewhat strange and unreasonable, nevertheless they would gradually and unnoticeably, in time, win their unquestioned citizenship through usage. . . . As for the German words and phrases that are daily written among us; these two languages, German and Swedish, are two legitimate sisters born of the first primeval Japhetic-Scythian mother, and in their heritage without distinction, even if they seem somewhat different in their accourtement and pronunciation. Therefore innumerable German words can be taken in, so that our tongue might be corrected and adorned, if only they are adjusted and fitted to the manner and utterance of our tongue.

(Sw: Georg Stiernhielm, from the preface to his *Baculus Carolinus*, an unpublished MS of c. 1650; Royal Library Fd 19. Printed in somewhat modernized form in his *Vitterhets-Arbeten*, ed. L. Hammarsköld, Sth. 1818, pp. 286–7.)

TEXTS 423

#### (d) Sweden 2: The Swedish language prophesies concerning its own future

. Mebran Latin mit ofwast. Jagh engang brufas ffals Raft anther medbfortofwas/ Minu főr mánga fall: Engang stalingen blanda/ The mic Orden in Mang Land migh ga tilbanda/ Sá wái som Wardnan mind Medh migh ftalen gang lara Apfala Angdom fijn/ Dread Konft man wil begard Aff Botren vå katifn. Dathe fom nagot firifiva/ Ranstel forstell ett Proff For oth feal man them gifwar Alt broad them gors behoffe. Za ftole Bofer fallas/ Så öfwerflödigt bår/ Athar affinna wallas/ Dwad flagh man balft begår. Alt broad the Gamble QBilla Lempnade effer figh/ Thet fal man tunna wiffa! Bestrifwit genom migh. Affbelia Strifft och marbillah/ Dwad som fan wara til Gfal inter finnas rasliab/ Theriagh comiffamil. Stoor Winningh ftole gora/ The mina Boferta/ Emellan Grader fora/ Dch medh them handla få. Medb broad for annan Maras Sommuar storsta wings Stalta somringast waray Och galla ale form minft. Wigh stole alla abear Theela Marden wijdh/ Och migh affunda lara Zillista påen Tijbb.

More than Latin now is practiced I shall some day, too, be used; although it may be long delayed as yet in many cases. Some day will no one mix the new words in; many lands will serve me, as well as my renown. Some day Uppsala its youth will teach through me whatever arts they wish to learn from books in Latin. And those who wish to write, if only as a trial, will first be given all that they find needful. Then will books be sold so abundantly here that from them one can choose whatever kind one wants. All that the wise ancients left as heritage, that one will be able to show described through me. Of holy Writ and worldly, whatever may exist, in legal writing nothing that I can not express. Great profits they will earn who then my books bring from town to town and can trade with them. While other wares that now show greatest profits will then be poorest and have the lowest value. All will honor me in the whole wide world and eagerly seek out a chance to learn me in their time.

(Sw: Thet swenska språkets klagemål, Sth. 1658, by 'Skogekär Bergbo', a pseudonym, p. 423 (conclusion). For discussion see the edition by E. Källquist, Uppsala 1934, where this passage appears on p. 282.)

(e) Sweden 3: Samuel Columbus discusses the nature and purpose of grammar

grammatica ar int' annat rt oppats abolle . Junta Region ox om fandy forting for Canto hil of exaks with faland ox skingward. how rund wat opporte alen, after at la kil to bly nagin Granh ation that, namely four givent ox It in = ox for fallow, when negon aldelows Sork efter Jalans atmastroper for I da nagon Confusion Mor mada, grafather gar want bruthlight at bringa praken til on with hop, on all all she Silar on order tag Just Rom with flag . ifran gamb filor datter Graman by wills wy be bifolla fama prates ma by karapharlant he jour Ageton one It and one bracket upper I periformer. meer of ording, for Grandica, Logica of 36. motor of my blandning ofter o-out val in Lankand af billing, taulou Skriften bast faular on pradits alle ju nasman fantan domer he Tinget Ret he fan Pan, priffs byon it lit. Grandan gar Gud ox Xatures at gihat /m drawbrana Mor ungright boldet Tkriffer book lavely Ireford in Jankaran meer univerfelle ox all and irr folk, man ich i all land Jyky Swantker, on lat book it.

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Grammatica är int' annat än ett Opsats af allehanda Reglor ok omständigheter, som lända til ett Språks rätt talande ok skrifwande. Man kunde wäl opsätta sådant utan at dä' skulle blij någon Grammatica 'tåf, näml. som huart ok ett inn- ok före-faller, utan någon afdeelning eller ordning: Dock, efter sådane åtmärkelser för-orsaka någon Confusion eller oreda, ok af ålder har warit brukligit at bringa Språken til en Wettskap om alle dess deelar ok ordelag, hwilken Wettskap man ifrån gamle Tijder kallar Gramatica, ty wille wij ok behålla same manéer, ok sij til at Swenske Språket må blij skärskodat til alle sine stycken ok delar, ok brackt uppå de fötter, at täd må winna någon wisshet uti dess talande ok skrifwande. Somlige hålla meer af ordning, som Gramatica, Logica. etc. somlige meer af en blandning ok o-ordning, som Epigrammata, Remarqver.

Ett Språk är Tankans afbildning, Tankan Tingets: Skriften både Tankans ok Språkets. Altså, ju närmare Tankan kommer til Tinget, Språket til Tankan, Skriften til Språket, ju fullkomligare är däd. Tankan har Gud ok Naturen oss gifwit, Språket föräldrarne eller omgänges-folket, Skriften de book-lärde. Derföre äre Tankarne meer universelle ok allmänne än Språken ok skriften, efter som i alle Land är Folk, men inte i alle land, Tyskar, Swenskar, ok så bort åt.

Grammatica is just a setting up of all sorts of rules and circumstances that assist in the correct speaking and writing of a language. No doubt one could set this up without its becoming a grammar, by doing it as it occurred to one, without any divisions or order. But, since such notations cause confusion or disorder, and it has been customary through the ages to bring languages into a science of all its parts and phrases, which science has been called Grammatica from ancient times, therefore we too will keep the same manner, and see to it that the Swedish language may be scrutinized in all its parts and pieces, and put on its feet, so that it may gain some certainty in its speaking and writing. Some people are more fond of order, as in grammar, logic, etc., others of mixture and disorder, as in epigrams and remarks.

A language is a reflection of thought, thought of the thing, writing both of the thought and the language. Therefore, the closer thought gets to the thing, language to the thought, writing to the language, the more perfect it is. The thought was given us by God and Nature, the language by our parents or our companions, the

writing by the learned. Therefore thoughts are more universal and general than the languages and the writing, since there are people in every country, but there are not in every country Germans, Swedes, etc.

(Sw: From Samuel Columbus, *En swensk ordeskötsel*, 1678; MS Royal Library N 3; transcription from the edition by S. Boström, Uppsala 1963, p. 45, based on MS Uppsala University Library N 622, c. 1711, a more exact transcription of Columbus' original.)

#### (f) Iceland 1: Our language has a rich vocabulary

Er j Bibliunni jslendsku suo vtlagt, að þad heiti lijka so frillulijfe sem j latinska textanum stendur scortatio, fornicatio, Græcè πορνεία. So sem þad frilla sie sama og scortum et meretrix, bad sie allt hid sama: ba er bad margt vmm sijdir: Amica, concubina, conjunx, meretrix, scortum, fornicaria, prostibulum, allt a bad ad vera frilla og frillulijfe: siøneffni. Och nei, jslendska vor er ecki so fatæk, hun getur kallad betta sitt huort, fyrir buj finnast i henni adskilianlig noffn eptir buj sem verkinn eru. þar heitir fylgikona, frilla, skiækia, puta og lausukona, item vnnusta. Sitt er betta huort, ecki er þad allt frilla og frillulijffi, hier á ecki sierlega heima bad sem seigir i bogunni:

> pess fegra er ad heyra sem mærinn heitir fleira.

In the Icelandic Bible it is so interpreted, as if it should be called frillulijfe [concubinage] wherever the Latin text has scortatio, fornicatio, in Greek porneía. As if a frilla were the same as scortum and meretrix, and this was all alike: then there is furthermore: amica, concubina, conjunx, meretrix, scortum, fornicaria, prostibulum. All this is supposed to be frilla and frillulijfe: seven names. But no, our Icelandic is not so poor; it can call each of these by a distinct word, because there are in the language separate names according to the effects. There is named a fylgikona [mistress], frilla [concubine], skiækia [whore], puta [harlot] and lausukona [prostitute], also unnusta [sweetheart]. Each of these is different, not all frilla and frillulijfe. Here one can scarcely say with the poet:

The more names for women there are,

The more beautiful it is to hear.

(Ic: From *Discursus oppositivus* by Guðmundur Andrésson, d. 1654, an attack on the Ic Bible of 1584; here cit. from Árni Böðvarsson 1964: 188.)

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- (g) Faroes 1: The first step in normalization—from Svabo to Hammershaimb
- Eulavur Kongur Vajslur bej.
   Gud o milda Marju Mojej.
   Stevi: Nørjis Menn!

   dansi veal uj Friun,
   stidli tjur adlar

dansı véál uj Friun, stidli tïur adlar, Riddara Nørjis Menn. dansi véál uj Frïun.

2. Uj Nørji bujr ajn kristin Man Euli Triggasoon ajtur han.

 Kongurin hajtur aa Svajnar tvaa Hajnti mear Sigmund in firi Boor. 4. Aarin tajr høddu haalvtéala Oor Firr vear Sigmundur in firi Boor.

5. Sigmundur fedlur aa sujni Knea Naadiï Harri! kveat viljun tear.

 Tû skalt fêara tiil Førjar vestur Têar skeal filgja Tambar Prestur.

 7. Uj Førjun bujr ajn meskur Mann Trøndur uj Gøtu ajtur han.

8. Kvørt eer han tan Kappin resti Edla eer han tan Gujvirin tresti.

(Sigmundar Kvæði 'Sigmund's Ballad' as transcribed by Svabo 1782; MS Gl. kgl. Saml. 2894, 4°. Printed in C. Matras, Svabos færøske Visehaandskrifter, Cop. 1939, p. 29; first eight stanzas only.)

#### Normalized:

- I Ólavur kongur veitslur beyð Gud og milda Mariu moyggj: Noregis menn, dansið væl í friðum, stillið tygur allar, riddarar, Noregis menn, dansið væl í friðum!
- 2 Í Noregi býr ein kristin mann, Óli Tryggason eitur hann.
- 3 Kongurin heitir á sveinar tvá: »Heintið mær Sigmund inn fyri borð!«

- 4 Åörenn teir høvdu hálvtalað orð, fyrr var Sigmundur inn fyri borð.
- 5 Sigmundur fellur á síni knæ: »Nádigi harri, hvat viljið tær?«
- 6 »Tú skalt fara til Føroya vestur, tær skal fylgja Tambar prestur.
- 7 Í Føroyum býr ein menskur mann, Tróndur í Gøtu eitur hann.
- 8 Hvørt er hann tann kappin reysti, ella er hann tann gívurin treysti?«

(Same ballad as normalized in current Fa orthography, devised by Hammershaimb. Printed in C. Matras, Føroya Kvæði, Cop. 1951, 1. 455.)

Olav the King did offer a feast To God and gentle Virgin Mary.

Men of Norway,

Dance ye well in peace, Line yourselves all up, Knights, the men of Norway, Dance ye well in peace!

- 2 In Norway lives a Christian man, Oli Tryggason he's named.
- 3 The King calls to him servants two:
  - 'Bring Sigmund in before my board!'
- 4 Before they spake but half a word, So soon was Sigmund at his board.

- 5 Sigmund fell upon his knee 'Gracious Lord, what would you me?'
- 6 'You shall go to the Faroes west, With you shall travel Tambar priest.
- 7 'In the Faroes lives a worthy man, Tróndur í Gøtu is his name.
- 8 'Whether is he the hero brave, Or is he rather the fearful witch?'

#### (h) Norway 1: The Norwegian language is not dead

De Levninger, der endnu ere tilbage af det gamle norste Tungemaal, maae itte føges i Norges Rjøbsteder eller nærliggende Egne, hvor Sproget ligesom Sæderne ere danske; men inde i Landet, i Fjeldbsigderne, og overalt iblandt Bønder, som stage i liden eller ingen Forbindelse med Rjøbsteder= ne. De ere altsaa itte andet end, hvad de ogsaa almindeligen taldes, et Bondemaal; men dette indbefatter en stor Mængde betydningsfulde Udtruffe, og saa mange ældgamle danste Ord, som man nu savner i Sproget, at det - om ikkun i denne Henseende - fortiener vore Sprogelsteres Opmærksomhed. Det adstiller sig fra de tvende andre nordiste Sprog, ei allene ved et rigt Forraad af egne Ord, en egen Udtale og egne Bendinger, men endog ved en egen Forbindelse af Ordene eller Syntax; saa at man kan sige, det ikkun har manglet Dyrkning ved Skrivter, for at blive et selvstændigt Sprog ligesaa vel som hine. Imidlertid har det i flere Senseender mere tilfælles med det svenste end med det danste Sprog: hvilket forekommer mig mærkværdigt, da Norge i mere end 300 Aar har været forenet med Danmark, og de norste Bønder have havt saa mange danste Mænd imellem dem, især Bræfter (som de eiheller altid have forstaaet), og have endog maattet behjelpe sig med danste Bøger. Som Aarsag til denne vedvarende Ulighed i den norste og danste Mundart maa man ansee begge Landes betydelige Frastand og forstjellige Bestaffen= hed, begge Folks forstjellige Sæder og Stikte; men i Særdeleshed den udmærkede Nationalstolthed og Selvstændighed, som er de norske Bønder saa egen, og som not bestandigen vil udmærte dem fra de danste.

The relics that still remain of the old Norwegian tongue must not be sought in the cities of Norway or their surrounding areas, where the language like the customs are Danish; but in the interior of the country, in the mountain valleys, and everywhere among peasants who are in little or no contact with the cities. These are then only, as TEXTS 429

they are indeed usually called, a peasant tongue; but this includes a great number of significant expressions, and so many ancient Danish words that are now lacking in the language that it deserves the attention of our language lovers, if only for that reason. It differs from the two other Nordic languages, not only by a rich stock of its own words, a pronunciation and phrases of its own, but also by its own combination of words or syntax; so that one may say that it has only lacked cultivation in writing to become an independent language like the others. In many respects, however, it has more in common with the Swedish than the Danish language; which seems remarkable to me, since Norway has been united with Denmark for more than 300 years, and the Norwegian peasants have had so many Danish men among them, especially pastors (whom they have not always understood), and have even had to get along with Danish books. The reason for this continuing difference between the Norwegian and Danish dialect must be seen in the considerable distance between the two countries and their differing character, the different habits and customs of the two peoples; but especially in the conspicuous national pride and independence that is so characteristic of the Norwegian peasants, which no doubt will always distinguish them from the Danish.

(Da: From the preface of Laurents Hallager, Norsk Ordsamling eller Prove af Norske Ord og Talemaader, Cop. 1802; a famous quotation that predates Nw political independence, written by a physician in Bergen.)

#### (i) Norway 2: Ivar Aasen's program for his New Norwegian

Men det vilja me tenkja, at her alltid vil finnast Folk, som kunna skyna va samtnkkja desse Setningarne,

at det rette heimelege Maal i Landet er det, som Landsens Folk hever ervt ifraa Forsedrom, fraa den eine LEtti til den andre, og som no um Stunder, til Traass syre all Fortrengsla og Banvyrding, endaa hever Grunnlag og Emne til eit Bokmaal, lika so godt som nokot av Grannfolka-Maali:

at den rette Medferd med detta heimelege Maalet er, at det maa verda uppteket til skriftleg Hævding i si fullkomnaste Form, at det maa verda reinskat spre dei verste framande Tilsetningar, aukat og rikat (beriget) ved Avleiding av si eigi Rot og etter sine eigne Reglar, og soleids uppreist og adlat ved eit verdigt Bruk;

og at denne Hævdingi maa vera baade til Gagn og Æra fyre Landsens Kolk, med di at detta er den beste Maate til at maalgreida (udtrykke) det heimelege Laget i Hugen og Tanken aat Folket, og til at fremja Kunnskap og Bithug (elder den einaste rette og sanne Kultur), og med det same til at visa Berdi, at ogsø detta Folket hever Bit til at vyrda det gode, som det hever fenget til Arv og Heimansplgja fraa uminnelege Tider.

But this we will believe, that there will always be people who can understand and accept these statements:

That the right native tongue in this country is the one that the people of the country have inherited from their ancestors, from one generation to the next, and which nowadays, in spite of all displacement and contempt, still has the basis and material for a book language just as good as any of the neighboring languages;

That the right treatment of this native tongue is that it must be taken up for written cultivation in its most perfect form, that it must be purified of the worst foreign additions, amplified and enriched by derivation from its own root and according to its own rules, and so restored and ennobled by dignified usage;

And that this cultivation must be both to the benefit and honor of the people of the country, because this is the best way of expressing the native character in the mind and thought of the people, and of promoting knowledge and zeal for learning (which is the only right and true culture), and at the same time to show the world that this people also has the sense to honor the good that it has received as its heritage and dowry from time immemorial.

(NN: Ivar Aasen, Minningar fraa Maalstriden um Hausten 1858 [Kra. 1859], pp. 38–9. This programmatic reply to his first critics also illustrates the relatively conservative form of his early norm.)

## B: CELEBRATING THE LANGUAGES (NINETEENTH TO TWENTIETH CENTURIES)

(a) Denmark 3: Bishop Grundtvig's call for a national awakening
[MODERSMAALET] THE MOTHER TONGUE

Moders Navn er en himmelft Lyd, Saa vide som Bølgen blaaner, Moders Røst er den Spædes Fryd, Og glæder naar Issen graaner, Sødt i Lyst og sødt i Nød, Sødt i Liv og sødt i Død, Sødt i Eftermælet! Mother's name is a heavenly sound, As far as billows are blue; Mother's voice is the infant's joy, And gladdens when hair turns gray. Sweet in joy and sweet in sorrow,

Sweet in life and sweet in death, Sweet in reminiscence! TEXTS 431

Modersmaal var de Rongers Sprog, Bi mindes med Fryd og hædre; Modersmaal var de Ræmpers og, Bi kalde med Stolthed Kædre. Mother's tongue was the speech of kings,

Those whom we joyfully honor; Mother's tongue was the speech of heroes,

Those whom we proudly call fathers.

Modersmaal er vort Hjertesprog, Run løs er al fremmed Tale, Det alene i Mund og Bog Ran væffe et Folf af Dvale. Mother's tongue is the speech of our hearts,
All foreign speech is but loose;
It alone in mouth and book
Can rouse a people from torpor.

(Da: N. F. S. Grundtvig, Skolen for Livet [Cop. 1838]; stanzas 1, 4, 7. The title was added in later editions.)

#### (b) Denmark 4: Kierkegaard's pæan to the Danish language

- Nogle af mine Landsmænd mene, at Modersmaalet ikke skulde være dngtigt til at udtrykke vanskelige Tanker. Dette synes mig en besynderlig og utaknemlig Mening, som det ogsaa synes mig besynderligt og overdrevent at ville ivre for det, saa man næsten glemmer at glæde sig ved bet, at forfægte en Uashængighed saa ivrigt, at Iveren næsten synes at tyde paa, at man allerede foler sig afhængig, og at det stridige Ord tilsiost bliver det Spændende, ikfe Sprogets Fryd det Bederquægende. Jeg føler mig lyffelig ved at være bunden til mit Modersmaal, bunden som maastee tun Faa er det, bunden som Adam var til Eva, fordi der ingen anden Qvinde var, bunden fordi det har været mig en Umulighed at lære noget andet Sprog og derved en Umulighed at fristes til at lade stolt og fornemt om det medfødte, men ogsaa glad ved at være bunden til et Modersmaal, der er riigt i indre Oprindelighed, naar det udvider Sielen, og Inder vellnstigt i Dret med sin søde Rlang; et Modermaal. der ikke stønner forfangent i den vanskelige Tanke, og derfor er det maaskee Nogen troer, at det iffe kan udtrykke den, fordi det gjør Banskeligheden let ved at udtale den; et Modersmaal, der ikke puster og lyder anstrænget, naar det staaer for det Audsigelige, men syster dermed i Spøg og i Alvor indtil det er udsagt; et Sprog, der iffe finder langt borte, hvad der ligger nær, eller søger dybt nede, hvad der er lige ved Haanden, fordi det i Inkkeligt Forhold med Gjenstanden gager ud og ind som en Alf, og bringer den for Dagen som et Barn den Intfelige Bemærkning, uden ret at vide af det: et Sprog, der er hæftigt og bevæget, hver Gang den rette Eliker veed mandligt at hidse Sprogets gvindelige Lidenskab, selv

bevidst og seierrigt i Tankestriden, hver Gang den rette Herster veed at søre det an, smidigt som en Bryder, hver Gang den rette Tænker ikke slipper det og ikke slipper Tanken; et Sprog, der om det end paa et enkelt Sted synes fattigt, dog ikke er det, men forsmaaet som en beskeden Elskerinde, der jo har den høieste Bærd og fremfor Alt ikke er forjadstet; et Sprog, der ikke uden Udtryk for det Store, det Afgjørende, det Fremtrædende, har en yndig, en tækkelig, en livsalig Forsjærlighed for Mellemtanken og Bibegrebet og Tillægsordet, og Stemningens Smaassnaken, og Overgangens Nynnen, og Bøiningens Inderlighed og den dulgte Belværens forborgne Frodighed; et Sprog, der forstaaer Spøg nok saa godt som Alvor: et Modersmaal, der fængsler sine Børn med en Lænke, som "er let at bære — ja! men tung at bryde."—

-Some of my countrymen hold that their mother tongue is not adequate for the expression of difficult ideas. This seems to me a strange and ungrateful opinion, just as it seems strange and exaggerated to me that some are so zealous on behalf of the language that they almost forget to enjoy it. They champion its independence so zealously that their zeal almost suggests a feeling of dependence, and in the end they are absorbed only with its recalcitrant words, not refreshed by its delights. I rejoice that I am bound to my mother tongue, bound as perhaps few are, bound as Adam was to Eve because there was no other woman, bound because it has been impossible for me to learn any other language, and so impossible for me to be tempted to treat my own in a proud and haughty manner; but I am also happy to be bound to a mother tongue that is rich in inner spontaneity as it expands the soul, a tongue that falls sensuously on the ear with a sweet ring; a mother tongue that does not groan in the toils of a difficult idea, so that some perhaps think it cannot express the idea, since it makes the difficult easy by stating it; a mother tongue that does not pant and strain when faced with the inexpressible, but putters with it in jest and earnest until it is expressed; a language that does not look far away for what is near, or seek in the depths what is close at hand, because in a happy relationship to its object it flits freely in and out like an elfin creature, bringing the object into the light like a child making a happy remark without really knowing that it has done so; a language that is passionate and deeply stirred whenever the right lover is manfully able to rouse its female passion; a language that is self-conscious and victorious in the tournament of ideas whenever the right master is able to guide it, lithe as a wrestler

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whenever the right thinker will not let it go and not let go the idea; a language which, though at some point it may seem poverty-stricken, nevertheless is not so, but is only neglected like a modest mistress who is of the highest worth and above all is not a slattern; a language which, though not without terms for what is great, decisive, conspicuous, has a charming, a gracious, a blissful love for the subtle idea and the connotation and the modifier, the murmurings of a mood and the melody of a transition, the intensity of inflection and the veiled luxuriance of a secret well-being; a language that comprehends jest just as well as seriousness; a mother tongue that captivates its children with a chain that 'is easy to bear—yea, but hard to break!' (Da: From Søren Kierkegaard, Stadier paa Livets Vei [Stages on Life's Way], Cop. 1845, pp. 379–80.)

(c) Sweden 4: The poet Tegnér rates his neighbors' and his own language

#### Danskan

Mig behagar du ej. För veklig för nordiska styrkan, äfven för söderns behag mycket för nordisk ännu.

#### Svenskan

Ärans och hjeltarnas språk! Hur ädelt och manligt du rör dig, ren är som malmens din klang, säker som solens din gång. Vistas på höjderna du, der åskan och stormarna tala, dalarnas lägre behag äro ej gjorda för dig. Spegla ditt anlet i sjön, och friskt från de manliga dragen tvätta det främmande smink, kanske det snart är för sent.

#### Danish

Me you do not please. Too weak for the vigor of Northmen, Much too Nordic still for the pleasure of southerly hearers.

#### Swedish

Language of honor and heroes! How noble and manful your movement.

Pure as a bell is your sound, sure as the sun's is your course.

Stay on your heights, there where the thunder and storm gods are speaking,

The lesser delights of the lowlands are not befitting for you.

1018C73 E

Mirror your face in the sea, and fresh from your masculine features Wash off the foreign cosmetic, perhaps it will soon be too late.

(Sw: Esaias Tegnér, from the poem 'Språken', last two stanzas; text as first printed in his *Smärre samlade dikter*, Sth. 1817, pp. 197-8. Other languages characterized include Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, English and German.)

(d) Iceland 2: The poet reminds his emigrated countrymen of their heritage

ÍSLENZK TUNGA (Ort til Vestur-Íslendinga)

Hvað er nú tungan? — Ætli enginn orðin tóm séu lífsins forði, hún er list, sem logar af hreysti, lifandi sál í greyptu stáli, andans form í mjúkum myndum, minnissaga farinna daga, flaumar lífs, í farveg komnir fleygrar aldar, er striki halda.

Tungan geymir í tímans straumi trú og vonir landsins sona, dauðastunur og dýpstu raunir, Darraðar-ljóð frá elztu þjóðum; heiftar-eim og ástar-bríma, örlaga-hljóm og refsidóma, land og stund í lifandi myndum ljóði vígðum — geymir í sjóði.

THE ICELANDIC LANGUAGE
(Composed for American
Icelanders)

What is our language?—Let no one think

that empty words are the fullness of life,—

it is art, that flashes with power, living soul in steel engraved, form of the spirit in gentle images, memory's saga of bygone days, floods of life, in the riverbed of a flowing wave that never ends.

Our language bears in the stream of time

the faith and hopes of our country's sons,

their groans of death and deepest travail,

the web of the Norns from ancient times;

the smell of hate and the breakers of love.

the echo of fates and judgments, land and time in living images, hallowed in verse—it bears in its bosom.

(Ic: Poem by Matthías Jochumsson, 1898; from *Ljóðmæli*, Rvik. 1956, 1. 70–5; only two stanzas included.)

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### (e) Iceland 3: The changelessness of Icelandic

Þá er þess loks að gæta, að forlög tungu vorrar og bókmenta hafa jafnan verið nátengd. Nú er íslenzkan móðurmál vort, þjóðareinkunn vor, og er óbarft að skýra, hvers virði hún er fyrir þjóðina. En á hitt má bó minna, að sérstakt gildi íslenzkrar tungu, í samanburði við önnur nútíðarmál, er mjög í því fólgið, að hún hefur ekki breyzt meira en hún hefur gjört í 1000 ár. Af því að hljóðvörp eru enn lifandi í málinu, er auðveldara að mynda góð nýyrði á íslenzku en nokkru öðru máli, sem eg þekki, og væri þó enn betra, ef hljóðskifta-lögmálið væri enn í gildi. En það var orðið dauður bókstafur áður en Ísland byggðist. Þá er það ekki lítils virði, að tungan er svo gagnsæ, að hún er skóli í hugsun fyrir þjóðina, þar sem mikið af orðum nútímamála eru eins og slitnar myntir, sem menn vita, hvað merkja, en hugsa aldrei um að rekja saman við önnur orð. Frökkum finst rithöfundum sínum nauðsyn að læra latínu, til þess að skilja orðin frá rótum og kunna betur að beita þeim. Vér þurfum ekki slíks við. Og enginn efi getur á því leikið, að þess vegna er (að öðru jöfnu) meira færi til ritsnildar á íslenzku en öðrum nútíðarmálum.

Finally it should be observed that the fates of our language and our literature have always been closely coupled. Now Icelandic is our mother tongue, the marker of our nation, and it is unnecessary to explain its value to our people. But it should be recalled that the special value of the Icelandic language, compared with other modern languages, is to a great extent comprised in the fact that it has not changed more than it has in a thousand years. Because umlaut is still alive in the language it is easier to form good new words in Icelandic than in any other language I know, and it would be better still if ablaut were also alive. But that had become a dead letter before Iceland was settled. Then it is not without significance that the language is so transparent that it is a school of memory for the people, while many of the words in modern languages are like worn coins, which people know the value of, but never think to compare with other words. French writers find it necessary to learn Latin in order to understand their words from the roots so they can make better use of them. We do not need anything like that. And no one can doubt that for this reason (other things being equal) there is more opportunity for a writer's talent in Icelandic than in other modern languages.

(Ic: Prof. Sigurður Nordal, intr. to *Íslenzk lestrarbók*, Rvík. 1931, p. xxviii.)

### (f) Faroes 2: The mother tongue as a commandment of God

Boðar tú til allar tjóðir: Ȯra skalt tú faðir tín, æra skalt tú tína móður, so tær fylgir signing mín. Landið gevi eg tær tá, leingi tú har liva má, fólkið títt tá skal eg kenna, meðan øld um øldir renna.«

Føroya mál á manna tungu merkir: her býr Føroya fólk. Slektir fornu og tær ungu eyðkendu seg sum ein bólk, ið helt fast við fedramál, virdu tað av hug' og sál, gloymdu ikki ættarbandið; byggja tí enn hetta landið.

Um nú nýggjar øldir líða, halt á somu leið várt starv, at vit ikki lata svíða dugnaloysi til hin arv, sum vit ervdu fedrum av; tá skal lyftið, sum tú gav, allan aldur Føroyum tryggja føroyingunum her at byggja. Thy commandment to all peoples: 'Thy father shalt thou honor, Honor shalt thy mother; Then will follow thee my blessing. I give thee then the land, Long mayst thou live there; Thy people then I'll know, While age on age doth flow.'

Faroe speech on tongues of men Means that here live Faroe folk. Older generations and the younger Marked themselves a folk apart, Holding fast their fathers' tongue, Valued it with heart and soul, Did not forget their ties of kin, And therefore still do build this land.

Now as future ages pass, Let us strive to keep our path, That we do not heedlessly Waste our heritage away, Which our fathers gave us; Then the promise that You gave Will for aye ensure the Faroes As a home for Faroese.

(Fa: Poem by Jóannes Patursson, Faroese national leader (1866–1946); here taken from Føroysk lesibók, 2. ed., Tórshavn 1961, 3. 302.)

## (g) Norway 3: The mother tongue as a defense of the nation

Maalet hennar Mo'r

Tone: Soli gjeng bak Aafen neb. Maalet hennar Mo'r me vil Albri, albri glønma! Kor det gjeng i Berdi til, Det vil Tunga gjønma! OUR MOTHER'S TONGUE

Tune: Soli gjeng bak Aasen ned Our mother's tongue we will never, never forget! Whatever happens in the world, our tongues will treasure it! TEXTS

Der me sett i Moder=Arv Alt det Betste, Hjartat tarv!

Harald aatte infje Staal Betre til sit Yrfje; Olav og ved detta Maal Byggde upp vaar Ryrfje; Tunga talad', Borni lo; Folfeluffa aldri do.

Sfal so Noreg standa enn, Daa lyt fram fyr' Staalet Noregs Kvinnor, Born og Menn Leggja Hug til Maalet; Tynest Tunga, døyr me sleir, Standa aldri upp att' meir.

Me, som her ei Mo'r ha' aat Uppi desse Dalar, Ua me veit, me veit det gott, Kvar som Hjartat talar — Beit, at Maalet hennar Mo'r Hev sny' oss dei rette Ord. A heritage our mothers gave us of all the best the heart doth need!

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King Harald had no steel better for its purpose; King Olav also used this tongue when he built our church; the tongue spoke, the children laughed; the people's fortune never died.

If Norway so shall stand today, then rather than rely on steel Norway's women, children, men must give devotion to their tongue; if the tongue dies, more will die, and we will never rise again.

We who here have had a mother in these mountain valleys, ah, we know, we know it well where the heart is speaking—knowing that our mother's tongue the right words has for us.

(NN: Poem by Anders Reitan, as first printed in *Den norske Folkeskole*, 28 February 1867; reprinted in modernized form in his *Fjeld-Ljom*, Oslo 1923, p. 175.)

# (h) Norway 4: Bjørnson's plea for the DN language as a common heritage of Denmark and Norway

#### VORT SPROG

Du, som sejler de norske fjæld og synger for vuggen hos sønderjyden,

befalte ved Halden en brandrød kvæld

og hørtes samtidig i barnefryden, du hjærternes hjærte, vort norske mål,

#### OUR LANGUAGE

You, who sail the mountains of Norway

and sing by the cradles of Slesvig, who commanded at Halden a firered night,

and also were heard in the joy of children—

you, the heart of hearts, our Norwegian tongue, i fryd som i smerte vor hellige bolig med gud fortrolig, vi elsker dig! in joy as in sorrow our holy dwelling, intimate with God, we love you!

Hviskende følge på Holbergs færd du bar ham mod hjemmet og morgengryet,

og løfted hans skatte og hvæssed hans sværd

i leende ordlag, som alt fornyed.

Du åndernes møde, vort norske mål, her taler de døde med dem, du skal føde, med dem, som gløde, vi elsker dig. Whispering accompanist on Holberg's journey,

you bore him up towards home and the dawn,

and lifted his treasures and whetted his sword

in laughing locutions that spelled renewal.

You, the meeting of spirits, our Norwegian tongue, here speak the dead with those whom you will bear, with those who are ablaze,—we love you!

(DN: Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, poem dated 1900, here from his Samlede Værker, Cop. 1901, 6. 199; first two stanzas.)

### (i) Norway 5: A plea by the poet Overland to keep the languages pure

Jeg vil si til ungdommen: Velg et sprog, men et levende sprog — riksmål eller landsmål! Og husk på at «bokmål» er ikke noget sprog, men en chikane, en uhørt nedvurdering av det folk, man vil påtvinge dette offentlige klovneri!

Velg et sprog — gjerne landsmål! Bruk det da med omtanke! Smi det sterkt, slip det skarpt, puss det blankt!

Bruk det, så det blir smidig! Tenk det, så det blir klart! Føl det, så det blir varmt, rikt og vakkert! La det synge! — Dere gleder oss ved det!

Men la riksmålet være i fred!

I would say to our young people: Choose a language, but a living language—Riksmål or Landsmål! And remember that 'Bokmål' is not a language, but a chicanery, an unheard-of underestimate of the people on whom this official buffoonery is to be imposed!

Choose a language—gladly Lands-mål!

Then use it thoughtfully! Forge it strong, grind it sharp, polish it bright!

Use it, so it will be supple! Think it, so it will be clear! Feel it, so it will be warm, rich, and lovely! Let it sing!—You will gladden us by that!

But leave the Riksmål alone!

(DN: Arnulf Øverland, Bokmålet — et avstumpet landsmål, Oslo 1949, p. 51. In this passionate polemic the author is defending the traditional DN, for which he uses the term 'riksmål', against the government-sponsored Norwegianization of 1938, which he calls 'bokmål'.)

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12.2 Sources and Studies. Surveys in Skautrup vols. 3 and 4; Wessén 1968: 117-47; Indrebø NM 334-54. The Da grammarians cited are published in Bertelsen (1915-29). On Sc dialect research see the *Mitzka Festschrift* (1968), more summarily Haugen and Markey (1972 a, b). Dialect surveys are listed above in 11.3. On the Sw dialect alphabet see Lundell (1879) for its original formulation, M. Eriksson (1956) for a survey and suggested reform.

12.3 Phonology. Summaries in Skautrup vols. 3 and 4; Wessén Sspr 1. 151-82; Hovda (1056).

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12.5 Words and Names. (1) Word Formation: for ON see Torp in Hægstad and Torp (1909: 20-63, repr. G. Holm 1973); Da Skautrup 3. 376-80 et passim; Sw Hellquist (1922, only 1st ed.); Wessén Sspr vol. 2; R. Söderbergh (1964, 1967); Åkermalm (1952, 1955); Wellander (1915). (2) Lexicon. Skautrup 2. 245-60 et passim. (3) Names. For references see 9.5. Monographs are published in a Da series by Institut for Navneforskning and a Sw one called Anthroponymica Suecana (1955-).

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NOTE: Alphabetizing follows Sc (esp. Da and Nw) rules, with  $\alpha$  ( $\ddot{a}$ ),  $\theta$  ( $\ddot{o}$ ),  $\dot{\theta}$  (aa) last and in that order; but b is treated as b and b as d.

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# Appendix 1

# Abbreviations

acc.	accusative	c.	common (gender); circa
adj.	adjective	C	consonant; Central;
AiG	Altisländische Grammatik		Common
	(Noreen)	$\mathbf{cf}$	compare
AL	Acta Linguistica Hafnien-	CIPL	Comité International
	sia. International journal		Permanent des Linguistes
	of structural linguistics,	comp.	comparative
	Cop.	conj.	conjunction
ALH	Acta Linguistica Acade-	Cop.	Copenhagen
	miae Scientiarum Hun-	cpd(s)	compound(s)
	garicae, Budapest	CSc	Common Scandinavian
$\mathbf{AM}$	Arnamagnæan Collec-	CSw	Central Swedish (Svea-
	tion, Cop.		land)
ANVA	Det norske videnskaps-		
	akademi i Oslo. Avhand-	d.	died
	linger. II. Historisk-	$\mathbf{D}$	Denmark
	filosofisk klasse, Oslo	Da	Danish
APhS	Acta Philologica Scandi-	Dal	Dalarna (Dalecarlia)
	navica. Tidsskrift for nor-	dat.	dative
	disk sprogforskning, Cop.	def. art.	definite article
Arkiv	Arkiv för nordisk filologi,	DF	Danske folkemål, Cop.
	Lund	DN	Dano-Norwegian
art.	article		(riksmål, bokmål); Diplo-
AsG	Altschwedische Gramma-		matarium Norvegicum
	tik (Noreen)	DR	Danmarks Runeindskrifter
ASR	American-Scandinavian	DS	Danske Studier, Cop.
	Review, New York		, <u>-</u>
aux.	auxiliary	$\mathbf{E}$	East(ern)
	·	EGmc	East Germanic
BA	Bibliotheca Arnamag-	Eng	English
	næana, Cop.	ENw	East Norwegian
BNFil	Bidrag til nordisk filologi	ESc	East Scandinavian
	av studerende ved Kris-	EstSw	Estonian Swedish
	tiania Universitet, Kra.		
Во	Bohuslän; Bornholm	f.	feminine
Br-N	Brøndum-Nielsen,	F	Festskrift, Festschrift
_	Johannes	Fa	Faroese
	J		

			₹°۶
FA FG FGT	Filologiskt Arkiv, Kungl. vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademi, Lund First Grammarian	Häls Härj	vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala, <i>Skrifter</i> . Upps. Hälsingland (Sw) Härjedalen (formerly Nw, now Sw)
FGI	First Grammatical		
To:	Treatise	Ic	Icelandic
Fi	Finnish	IE	Indo-European
FiSw	Finland Swedish	IF	Indogermanische Forschun-
FL(s)	foreign language(s)		gen. Zeitschrift für Indo-
FMSt	Folkmålstudier, Hels.		germanistik und allge-
Fr	French		meine Sprachwissenschaft,
Fy	Fyn		Berlin
		$I$ $\mathcal{J}AL$	International journal of
g.	gender		American linguistics,
Gbg.	Göteborg (Gothenburg)		Baltimore
Gbr	Gudbrandsdal (Nw)	imp.	imperative
gen.	genitive	indic.	indicative
Ger	German	inf.	infinitive
GG	Gammeldansk Grammatik	interrog.	interrogative
~.	(Brøndum-Nielsen)	It	Italian
Gk	Greek	ÍT	Íslenzk Tunga   Lingua
Gmc	Germanic		Islandica, Rvik.
Go	Gothic		•
Gu	Gutnish (Gotland)	Jy	Jylland (Jutland)
GVVSH	Göteborgs kungl. veten-	Jämt	Jämtland
	skaps- och vitterhetssam-	James	Jameana
	hälles handlingar. Serien	KL	Cas Diblia anambar
	A, humanistiska skrifter,	Kra.	See Bibliography Kristiania
~	Gbg.	KIA. KZ	
Gö	Götaland (Sw)	ΛZ	Zeitschrift für verglei-
			chende Sprachforschung
Hall	Halland (Sw); Hallingdal		auf dem Gebiete der
	(Nw)		indogermanischen
Hard	Hardanger (Nw)		Sprachen, begründet von
Hedm	Hedmark (Nw)		A. Kuhn, Göttingen
Hels.	Helsinki (Helsingfors)		
HFM	Det kgl. danske viden-	Lat	Latin
	skabernes selskab,	LB	Linguistic Bibliography,
	Historisk-filologiske med-		1946 ff. (CIPL)
	delelser, Cop.	Lg	Language, Journal of the
HG	High German		Linguistic Society of
Hon.	Honorific		America, Baltimore
HTS	Historisk tidskrift, utgiven	LG	Low German
	av Svenska historiska	lit.	literally
	föreningen, Sth.	LL	Late Latin
HVSU	Kungl. humanistiska	LL(s)	literary language(s)

T/ *			
LsNS	Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap, Lund	NN	New-Norwegian (lands- mål, nynorsk)
$LU\mathring{A}$	Lunds Universitets	NoB	Namn och Bygd. Tidskrift
D021	Årsskrift. Första avdel-	1102	för nordisk ortnamnsforsk-
	ningen, Lund		ning, Upps.
	ningen, Dulla	NoKu	Nordisk Kultur, Cop.
m.	masculine	nom.	nominative
MB	Medeltidens Bibelarbeten		Det kongelige norske
MDa	Middle Danish	1101 1455	videnskabers selskabs
MdSc	Modern Scandinavian		skrifter, Trhm.
ME	Middle English	NS	Nordiske språkspørsmål
MHG	Middle High German	145	Nordiske sprogproblemer
			Nordiska språkfrågor,
MidNw $MLFS$	Midland Norwegian  Modersmålslärarnas		Oslo, Cop., Sth.
MLFB		NSpr	Norsk språkhistorie (Seip)
MLF A	förening. Skrifter, Gbg. Modersmålslärarnas	NsvS	Nysvenska studier. Tid-
MLFA	förening. Årsskrift, Lund	14303	skrift för svensk stil- och
MLG			
	Middle Low German	NT	språkforskning, Upps.
MM	Maal og Minne. Norske	NTL	New Testament
B CAT	studier, Oslo	NIL	Nordisk tidskrift för
MNw	Middle Norwegian		vetenskap, konst och industri,
MS(S)	manuscript(s)		utgiven av Letterstedtska
MSc	Middle Scandinavian	NIMIC	föreningen, Sth.
MT	mother tongue	NTS	Norsk tidskrift for
Mu	Muttersprache, Berlin,		sprogvidenskap/Norwegian
	Lüneburg		Journal of Linguistics,
		NTTS	Oslo
n.	neuter	NIIS	Nordisk tidsskrift for tale
N	North(ern); Norway	NUTT	og stemme, Cop.
NA	Nya Argus, Hels.	NTU	Nordiska texter och
Nb	Norrbotten (Sw)	NT.	undersökningar, Upps.
NB	Norwegian runes, Bergen	Nw	Norwegian
	(as numbered by A.	NWGmc	North and West Ger-
NIDG	Liestøl)	277727	manic
NEGmc	North and East Ger-	NWNw	Northern West Norwe-
3.70	manic		gian
Nfj	Nordfjord (Nw)	_	• •
NGb	North Gudbrandsdal	0	object
	(Nw)	ODa	Old Danish
NGmc	North Germanic	OE	Old English
NJy	North Jutland (Jutland N	OESc	Old East Scandinavian
	of Slesvig)	OFa	Old Faroese
NkS	Ny kongelig Samling	OFr	Old Frisian
	(Royal Library, Cop.)	OGu	Old Gutnish
NM	Niederdeutsche Mitteilun-	OHG	Old High German
	gen, Lund; Norsk	Olc	Old Icelandic
	målsoga (Indrebø)	OIr	Old Irish

OLF	Old Low Franconian	refl.	reflexive
ON	Old Norse	rel.	relative
ONw	Old Norwegian	Russ	Russian
Orbis	Orbis, Bulletin inter-	Rvik.	Reykjavík
07013	national de documentation	IXVIX.	Keykjavik
	linguistique, Louvain	S	subject: South(cm)
os	Old Saxon	ъ	subject; South(ern); Sweden
OSc	Old Scandinavian	Saga Do	ok Saga-Book of the Viking
OSI	Old Slavonic	Sugu-Doo	Society for Northern
OSw	Old Swedish		Research, London
OWSc	Old West Scandinavian	Sc	Scandinavian
OVIDE	Old West Scandmavian		vica Scandinavica. An
<b>n</b>	nerson	Scanaina	
p. <i>PADS</i>	person Publications of the		international journal of
IADS			Scandinavian studies,
	American Dialect Society,	g - g	London/New York
	Greensboro, N.C.	ScS	Scandinavian Studies.
part.	participle		Journal of the Society for
<i>PBB</i> (H)	Beiträge zur Geschichte		the Advancement of
	der deutschen Sprache und		Scandinavian Study,
	Literatur, begründet von	ar <sub>D</sub>	Lawrence, Kansas
	H. Paul und W. Braune,	SDa	South Danish
70 70 (FT)	Halle/Saale	Set	Setesdal (Nw)
PBB (T)	Beiträge zur Geschichte	sg.	singular
	der deutschen Sprache und	Shl	Sunnhordland (Nw)
	Literatur, Tübingen	SINSU	Institutionen för nordiska
perf.	perfect		språk vid Uppsala univer-
pers.	personal	~•	sitet, Skrifter, Upps.
PGmc	Proto-Germanic	Sj	Sjælland (Zealand)
Phonetica	Phonetica. Internationale	SJy	South Jutland (Slesvig)
	Zeitschrift für Phonetik/	$\mathbf{S}\mathbf{k}$	Skåne (Scania); skånsk
	International Journal of		(Scanian)
	Phonetics/Journal inter-	Skírnir	Skírnir. Tímarit hins
	national de phonetique,		íslenzka bókmenntafélags,
	Basel/New York		Cop./Rvik.
PICL	International Congress of	SL	Studia Linguistica. Revue
	Linguists, Proceedings,		de linguistique générale et
	Various		comparée. Lund
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	SL(s)	spoken language(s)
pl.	plural	SLL	Skrifter utgivna genom
PN	place-name		Landsmålsarkivet i Lund,
poss.	possessive		Lund
pp.	perfect participle	Sm	Sunnmøre (Nw)
pr.	pronoun	Smål	Småland (Sw)
pres.	present	SNMA	Skrifter frå Norsk
pret.	preterite		målførearkiv. Oslo
pron.	pronoun	SNoF	Studier i nordisk Filologi.
PSc	Proto-Scandinavian		Skrifter utgivna av

4/-			
	Svenska Litteratursäll-		Landsmåls- och folkmåls-
	skapet i Finland. Hels.		arkivet i Uppsala, Upps.
SNPh	Studia Neophilologica. A	superl.	superlative
BIVIN	Journal of Germanic and	SUSS	Skrifter utgivna av
	Romanic Philology, Upps.		Samfundet för stilforsk-
SNSS	Skrifter utgivna av		ning, Sth.
21/22		s.v.	sub verbo
	Nämnden för svensk	SvLm	Svenska Landsmål och
CATTEA	språkvård, Sth.	Solm	Svenskt Folkliv   Archives
SNVA	Det norske videnskaps-		des traditions populaires
	akademi i Oslo. Skrifter.		
	II. Historisk-filosofisk	C	suédoises, Sth.
~	klasse, Oslo	Sw	Swedish
So	Sogn (Nw)	Sö	Södermanland (vol. in
Sol	Solør (Nw)		Sveriges Runinskrifter)
SoS	Språk och Stil, Sth.	_	
SpK	Sprog og Kultur, Århus	$\mathbf{T}$	Trøndelag (Nw)
Språkvård	l Språkvård. Tidskrift	TCLP	Travaux du Cercle Lin-
	utgiven av Nämnden för		guistique de Prague, Prague
	svensk språkvård, Sth.	TNC	Tekniska Nomenklatur-
SPSU	Studia philologiae Scan-		centralen, Sth.
	dinavicae Upsaliensia,	Tórsh.	Tórshavn
	Upps.	Tot	Toten (Nw)
SSFS	Samlingar utgivna av	tr.	translated
	Svenska fornskriftsäll-	Trhm.	Trondheim
	skapet, Sth.		
SSLF	Skrifter utgivna av	$UB\AA$	Universitetet i Bergen,
	Svenska Litteratursäll-		Årbok. Historisk-anti-
	skapet i Finland, Hels.		kvarisk rekke, Bergen
Sspr	Svensk språkhistoria	$\it UfFP$	Udvalg for Folkemaals
	(Wessén)	- 0	Publicationer, Cop.
SSSP	Stockholm Studies in	$\mathbf{UL}$	Upplandslagen
2221	Scandinavian Philology.	Upp	Uppland (Sw)
	Acta Universitatis Stock-	Upps.	Uppsala
	holmiensis, Sth.	UUA	Uppsala universitets
ST	Sør-Trøndelag (Nw)	0011	årsskrift, Upps.
Sth.	Stockholm		arssivity, Opps.
Stin. $StSDA$	Studier till en svensk	v.	verb
SiSDA	dialektgeografisk atlas.	v. V	vowel
	Skrifter utgivna av Kungl.	VA	Vest-Agder (Nw)
		VA Vald	Valdres (Nw)
	Gustav Adolfs akade-	Valu	
0400 4	mien, Upps.	VB VB	Västerbotten (Sw)
StSOA	Studier till en svensk		vowel balance
	ortnamnsatlas. Skrifter	Vd	voiced
	utgivna av Kungl. Gustav	$V_{\mathbf{g}}$	Västergötland (Sw)
	Adolfs akademien, Upps.	Vgl	Västgötalagen
subj.	subjunctive	VH	vowel harmony
SULMA	Skrifter utgivna genom	Viking	Viking. Tidsskrift for

	norrøn arkeologi, Oslo		Philologie, Berlin
V1	voiceless	ZfPh	Zeitschrift für Phonetik
Vm	Västmanland (Sw)	•	und allgemeine Sprach-
VM	Vestnorske Maalføre		wissenschaft, Berlin
	(Hægstad)	ZMaF	Zeitschrift für Mundart-
Vo	Voss (Nw)		forschung, Wiesbaden
Vs	Västmanlands runin-	ZMaFBei	Zeitschrift für Mundart-
	skrifter (Sth. 1964)		forschung. Beihefte,
VSF	Videnskapsselskapet <b>i</b>		Wiesbaden
	Kristiania. Forhand-	Ø	zero (in paradigms)
~~	linger, Kra.		
Värm	Värmland (Sw)	Öb	Österbotten
•••	***	Ög	Östergötland
W	West(ern)	Ögl	Östgötalagen
WGmc	West Germanic	Ång	Ångermanland
Word	Word. Journal of the	Alig	Angermamand
	Linguistic Circle of New	AaNO	Aarbøger for nordisk
WSc	York, New York West Scandinavian		Oldkyndighed og Historie,
WSw	West Swedish		Cop.
Waw	west Swedish	>	becomes/became
ZDA	Zeitschrift für deutsches		or; (in sound change
	Altertum und deutsche		formulas) in the position,
	Literatur, Wiesbaden		e.g. $o/\underline{m} = o$ in the
ZdPh	Zeitschrift für deutsche		position before m

# Appendix 2

# Phonetic Symbols

Symbols enclosed in angular brackets  $\langle \ \rangle$  are graphemic, i.e. they are transliterations into the Latin alphabet of other symbols, usually runes. Symbols in square brackets [ ] are phonetic, i.e. they are used to show that the actual sound is different from the one the usual orthography would indicate. As used in this book they are not intended to be narrow transcriptions, and they are chosen so as to be maximally simple. Their values range considerably in different dialects. To learn these values one can turn to a beginner's book in each of the languages or study the monographs in the references. To assist the student in doing the latter, a table by Poul Andersen comparing the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and the four alphabets used by Sc dialectologists is appended. The key words from Eng and other languages below are only suggestive approximations.

#### VOWELS

[a] father, Ger Vater	[U] good, Ger jung
[e] let, Ger essen	[y] Ger Füsse, Fr lune
[i] machine, Ger siegen	[æ] man, Fr faire
[1] bit, Ger bist	[ø] Ger lösen, Fr bleu
[o] boat, Ger los	[å] ore, law, Ger Kopf
[u] boot, Ger du	[ə] sofa, Ger bitte

Nasalization is marked by a tilde over vowels, e.g. [ $\tilde{a}$   $\tilde{o}$ ]. In ON spelling a hook under vowels designates lowered quality, e.g.  $\varrho \ \varrho \ \varrho$  (approximately IPA [ $\epsilon \supset \infty$ ]), while acute accents mark length, e.g.  $\acute{a} \acute{e} \acute{i}$  (which in modern Ic has become qualitative). In NN spelling grave accents are occasionally used to mark lowered qualities of high and mid vowels, e.g.  $\grave{i} \grave{e}$  (intermediate between  $\acute{i}/e$  and  $e/\varpi$  respectively).

#### CONSONANTS

[bdfghkmnpstwz] as in Eng	[ç] Ger ich
[d l n s t] retroflex (cacuminal)	[ð] this, either
[d, l, n, s, t,] palatal(ized) d l n s t	$[\phi]$ bilabial voiceless spirant
[b] bilabial voiced spirant (Sp $v$ )	[g] velar voiced spirant (Ger Tage)

		$\sim$	•
11	you,	( ier	12
LJ	, you,	001	100

[l] 'light' l (Ger lesen)

[l] 'dark' l (Eng fall)

[!] 'thick' l (flapped r)

[n] velar nasal (Eng ng in sing)
[r] trilled lingual r (as in It)

[r] untrilled lingual r (Eng r)

 $[\check{r}]$  palatalized  $\check{r}$  (Czech  $\check{r}$ )

[R] uvular r (as in Ger or Fr)

[š] *sh*oe [b] *th*ink

[x] Ger ach

[ž] vision, rouge

### PROSODEMES

- [:] length (after vowel); also marked by a macron over vowels (ō)
- ['] stress with Accent I (simple tone); placed after stressed vowel or consonant
- ['] stress with Accent 2 (complex tone); placed like the preceding
- [^] circumflex tone (see 11.3.10(4)); placed over vowel
- [']/[?] glottalization; placed after vowel or consonant affected (but before consonant in Jy)
- [1] secondary stress; after stressed vowel or consonant

### SCANDINAVIAN DIALECT ALPHABETS

The following harmonization of the four transcriptions is included by the kind permission of its author, Poul Andersen; it is taken from P. Andersen and L. Hjelmslev, Fonetik (Copenhagen 1954), 306a-307. Column 1 is the IPA, whose values can be found in Le maître phonétique or in any handbook on phonetics. Column 2 is Dania's alphabet by Otto Jespersen (Dania 1. 33-79). Column 3 is the Nw system of Johan Storm (Norvegia 1. 19-179). Column 4 is the Sw system of J. A. Lundell (SvLm I, 2. 11-159). Column 5 is the Fi system of E. N. Setälä (Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen 1. 32-52). Symbols separated by slants represent, respectively, voiced, voiceless and aspirated varieties.

## APPENDICES

IPA	Da	Nw	Sw	Fi
·1	2	<b>3</b> ·	4	5
		Vokoider		
i	i	i,i	ı	i
iτ, 1, Ι	i	2	ŀ	į, i<
		<i>!</i> 1)	. 12)	
jo		ï		
Бтт	ė	ė		<b>€</b> >
e	e	е	e	е
ет	ε		e.	ε.
<b>6</b> 2				ė
£ī	æ	e		ε, ε<
Ет	æ		æ	ä
æ	ä	æ	а	ä
ат	à	ä		à
а	a	ä	а	a>
3)	а	а	а	
4)	α <sup>5</sup> )			
α	<b>a</b> .	a	а	a, a
<b>y</b> ⊥+c		y^6)	y	,
Àз	y	у	y	ü
			ų 7)	
уc		ī		
<b>у</b> т, Y	ų	· <b>ý</b>		ü

IPA	Da	Nw	Sw	Fi		IPA	Da	Nw	Sw	Fi
1	2	3	4	5		1	2	. 3	4	5
vardi mellem : Y⊤/++			ij			ə+	1,3			?
Фтт	ø	ý				r	v	D	,v	D
Øт	ø	•		Ŏ		w.				į
ø	Ö		ø	ö		Ϋ́				ė
06т	6	•	0	7		¥т				g
œ.	· ö	ö	8	Ä		Λ				ε
0e <sub>7</sub>	ö	æ	B	äo				Kontoider	'	
Verdi mellem : CET/U+			8			р	/ /p	1919	/ /p	/p/p°
u	и	u	u	и		. b	b/b/	b/Bb/	b/b/	b/ B/
u+, △8)	. 8	ů		ų, u>		m	m/m/	m / /	m/m/	m/ M/
[u+]		o 9)	0 9)	a, ų		ŋ	m / /	m//	n / /	m = / M = /
Oτ	o		0 10)	Ò, Q		f	f		<i>                                       </i>	<i>  f </i>
0		0				ф			./φ/	/φ/
0т			İ	0		.v	v / /	v / /	v / /	v / /·
9T+	σ <sup>11</sup> )	å	a	, A <sub>&gt;</sub>		β	b/ /	<i>b</i> //	6//	β
Эт	å			۸		w	w//h	w / /	w/ /w	<u>u</u> / /
3				O.		ч		•		2//
. 9 <del>1</del>	a 12)	Q	0	Ç		υ				
Dτ	o 18)	å	œ	å		ţ		1 # 1 #		/t_/t_
D++	ò	ò	θ	å-	:	t	/ / t		/ / t	/t/tc
D				å		i 28)	/ / t			/r /r°
<b>u</b> +	ü	ü	u 14)	ш		t+	.//#	/t/t	1 / t	/ <u>f&gt;</u> /
ŧŧ	ri	и	ш	244		t		/#/#	/ / \$	/ ! /!º
u+		ù	u	ù		ď		d/Dd/		d>/D>/
i+		ı 15)		ð		d	d/d/		d/d/	d/D/
i				ĵ.		d 28)	·/d/		. ,	d'/D·/
9, 3	э	. 2,3	э	ð		d+		ġ//	q/d/	d-/D-/

IPA	Da	Nw	Sw	Fi	IPA	Da	Nw	Sw	Fi
1	2	. 3	4	5	1	2	3	. 4	5
đ		d/ /	d/&/	d/D/	ſ	<i> f </i>	/š/	<i>][[</i> ]	/š/
ņ		n/./hn		n>/N>/	J-, 5		•	151.	/ š <sub>&lt;</sub> /
n	n / n /		n/n/	n/N/	. <b>z</b>	z/ /	z / /	z / /	z / /
η+	n//	ὐ//	n/n/	n-/N-/	3+			31.1	ž-//
η		ņ	n/n/	$_{n}/N/$	3	3/ /	ž / /		ž/ /
ń, ŋ	ŋ//				<b>Z</b> +·	ζ/./		z-/ /	ž-/./·
1		l/ /hl		l-/L-/	z,				ž'/ /
1				/L/	c	/ ./1	/\$/\$		15/50
ļ	1/1/		1/1/	1/L/	, .		k = t k		
l, ļ	<i>} / /</i>	-		l' /L'/	J	/ <b>d</b> /	d/ /	g/ /	d*/D•/
l+	J/J	! / /	1/ /	l>/I.>/			d=dj		· .
ł	t / /		,	л/ /	n	ŋ/ /	n, / /	ŋ/ŋ/	ń   N'
1		<i>!</i> ///	1/3/	!/!/	λ	]/ /	] / /h]	J/J/	l' /L'/
. 1		<b>∤</b> / /h∤	4/3/		j/ç/	j / c /	j   K	1/x.16)/	j/χ*/
r	R /R/	r/ /	r/r/	r/ R/	ç, jf. x				
r				0//	k	/. /k	/k/k	/ /k	/k/kc
1	r,i/ /	i / /	¥ / /	я/ /	к, қ	/ / 1/8	/k/k	/ /b	/ k'/k'°
τ		r,t/ /	.4//	r/R/	q.				
θ	/ <i>þ</i> /	/ <b>p</b> /	/ <b>p</b> /	/ 0/	g	g/g/	g/Gg/	g/ğ/	g/G/
ğ		0//	<i>a</i> //	δ/ /	ġ, g <b>j</b>	191	g <sub>0</sub> / /	$g/\check{g}/$	g / G /
ð-	0//			δ <sub>&lt;</sub> / /	G				
S+		/s/		/s>/	ŋ	n/ /	g//hg	g/ /	η/И/
s	/8/		/s/	/s/	ij	n/ /	n/ /	y/y/	η·/И·/
s, ş	/s/	/s/		151	N				
ş +	[8,5]	/ș/	/ § /	<i>]</i> -/ /	γ/x/	q/x/	g/x/	y/x/	γ/χ/
នុ		/ş/	/s/	/š/	ÿ/x/	γ/χ/	181	/ # /	γ'/ χ'/
J+ .	151	/ š /	181	/š=/	γ°	w//	<b>ÿ</b> //		γ# / /

IPA 	Da	Nw	Sw	Fi	
1	2	3	4	5	
<b>Β</b> /χ/	r/r/		n/2/	Q/P/	
Ř → D	/ /د			ç/ <sub>P</sub> /	
R	n / r /	2//	$\kappa/\pi/$	$\varrho/P/$	
ħ	•				
٢.					
2, ?	,			. 3	
h	. h	h	h	h, H	
- fi				h.	
Accentua	tion (— c(n	= stavels ) = kont	e, v(a) : oid).	= vokoid,	
١	'			v·	
·.—	,		<b>v</b> .	ט:	
<b>'</b> —	'		_ــــ	<u>~</u>	
`	·-			_ `_	
			¬		
			<b>-</b>	<u></u>	
-acc. 1-	'	/ 19)	á		
*acc. 2«	г	<b>—</b> '	à		
scirkumfi. 1«			ă		
»cirkumfl. 2«		<i>ΰ,</i> — `	â		

IPA	Da	Nw	Sw	Fi
1	2	3	4	5
v::	v:,v·:		<u>a</u>	v,ê
v:, c:	v ·, c ·	v, cc	a,n	v, c
v., c.	v., c.		ą	v,č
(korthed)				v,č
v	v <sub>c</sub>	Ÿ	ac	K, E
Ç	ç	°c	ņ	ç
(svag udtale)	v°, v°	$v^{c}$ , $v^{v}$	ú	v, c
Halv- vokal		ų	ā	ň
Mouille- ring 20)			ñ	c
Afstem- ning	٤٠٤	ç, č <sup>21)</sup>	ğ <sup>22</sup> )	(Kapitæler)
Aspira- tion				· c°
+				v_, c_
_				v < , C <
۲				₹, €
	v 23)			v, ç, v, c
Υ <sup>24)</sup>				3
y <sup>25</sup> )				9
26)				8
27)				8

Meldals-i: meget lignende det svenske Viby-i.
 Viby-i: meget snævert i med kont. friktion.
 Europæisk eller neutralt a.
 d. s., lidt tilbagetrukket.
 Tegnet tilhører ikke Jespersens oprindelige inventar, se Mar. Kristensen, Vejledning til Brugen af Danias Lydskrift (1924), pag. 18.
 Vike så stækt fræmekudt som sy vy

<sup>6)</sup> Ikke så stærkt fremskudt som sv. y.

<sup>7)</sup> Vibyy; jf. note 2 ovf.
8) Den i de vesteuropæiske sprog almindelige slappe nuance.
9) En spændt vokoid der udgår fra uτ stadiet, men med lukkende tendens, Φ-offglide.
Lidt højere end den danske lyd.
Bornholmsk å, temmelig stærkt fremskudt.
Tegnet tilhører ikke lespersens oprindelige inventar.
Lidt fremskudt i forh. til den sv. og no. lyd.
En spændt vokoid med lukkende tendens, φ-offglide.



# Appendix 3

# Comparative Paradigms

Only major paradigms have been included; for details see the grammars of the individual languages.

### 1. NOUNS

La	ngua	ge		Icela	ndic			Faroese		NN	DN	Sw	Da
	Stem	Cases: Classes	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.
M. Str.	(a) (i) (C) (n)	Sg. Pl. Sg. Pl. Sg. Pl. Sg.	arm-ur arm-ar vegg-ur vegg-ir fót-ur fæt-ur hag-i hag-ar	 -a  -i  (æ)-ur -a -a	-i (ö)-um (j)-um (æ)-i (ó)-um -a (ö)-um	(j)-ar (j)-a (ó)-ar (ó)-a -a	arm-ur arm-ar vegg-ur vegg-ir fót-ur føt-ur hag-i hag-ar		-i -um -i (j)-um [ø]-i (ó)-um -a [ø]-um	arm arm-ar vegg vegg-er fot fø't-er hag-e hag-ar	arm arm-er vegg vegg-er fot føtt'-er hag-e hag-er	arm arm-ar vägg vägg-ar fot fött'-er hag-e hag-ar	arm arm-e væg vægg-e fod fødd'-er hav-e hav-er

Faroese Gen. is similar to that of Icelandic; in the other languages it is usually -s.

I. NOUNS (cont.)

	Lar	nguag	ge		Icela	ndic			Faroese		NN	DN	Sw	Da
				Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.
F.	Str.	(i) (a) (C)	Sg. Pl. Sg. Pl. Sg. Pl.	sól sól-ir lif(u)r lifr-ar hönd hend-ur	 -ir  -ar  (e)-ur	 -um  -um (e)-i (ö)-um	-ar -a -ar -a (a)-ar (a)-a	sól sól-ir liv(u)r livr-ar hond hend-ur	 -ir  -ar  (e)-ur	 -um  -um  (o)-um	sol-er lev'(e)r levr-ar hand hend'-er	sol-er lev'(e)r levr-er hånd hend'-er	sol-ar le'v(e)r levr-ar hand händ'-er	sol-e lev'er lever-e hånd hænd'-er
	Wk.	(n)	Sg. Pl.	vís-a vís-ur	-u -ur	-u -um	-u -n-a	vís-a vís-ur	-u -ur	-u -um	vis-e vis-er	vis-e vis-er	vis-a vis-or	vis-e vis-er
N.	Str.	(a) (ia)	Sg. Pl. Sg. Pl.	þak þök epl-i epl-i	 (ö) -i -i	-i (ö)-um -i -um	-s (a)-a -is -a	tak tøk epl-i epl-i(r)	(ø) -i -i(r)	-i (ø)-um -i -um	tak tak epl-e epl-e	tak tak epl-e epl-er	tak tak äppl-e äppl-en	tag tag-e æbl-e æbl-er
	Wk.	(n)	Sg. Pl.	aug-a aug-u	-a -u	-a -um	-a -n-a	eyg-a eyg-u(r)	-a -u(r)	-a -um	aug-a aug-o	øy-e øy-ne	ög-a ög-on	øj-e øj-ne

### 2. SUFFIXED DEFINITE ARTICLE

Language		Icela	ındic			Faroese		NN	DN	Sw	Da
	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Gen.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.	Nom. Acc. Dat.
M. Sg. Pl. F. Sg. Pl. N. Sg.	-in-n -n-ir -in -n-ar -i-ð	-in-n -n-a -in-a -n-ar -i-ð	-in-um -n-um -in-ni -n-um -in-u	-in-s -n-na -in-nar -n-na -in-s	-in -n-ir -in -n-ar -i-ð	-in -n-ar -in-a -n-ar -i-ð	-in-um -n-um -in-i -n-um -in-um	-en -n-e -a/-i -n-e -e-t -a/-i	-en -n-e -en/-a -n-e -e-t	-en -n-a = m. = m. -e-t -en(-a)	-en -n-e = m. = m. -e-t -n-e

## 3. ADJECTIVES

Str.	$\mathbf{M}.$	Sg.	-ur	-an	-um	-s	-ur	-an	-um				
		Pl.	-ir	-a	-um	-ra	-ir	-ar	-um	-е	-е	-a	-е
	F.	Sg.	u	-a	-ri	-rar	u	-a	-ari			= m.	= m.
		Pl.	-ar	-ar	-um	-ra	-ar	-ar	-um	<b>-</b> е	-е	= m.	= m.
	N.	Sg.	-t	-t	-u	-s	-t	-t	-um	-t	-t	-t	-t
		Pl.	u	u	-um	-ra	u	u	-um	-е	-е	-a	-е
Wk.	M.	Sg.	-i	-a	-a	-a	-i	-a	-a	-е	-е	-e/-a	-е
	F.	Sg.	-a	-u	-u	-u	-a	-u	-u	-е	-e	-a	= m.
	N.	Sg.	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-a	-е	-е	-a	-е
M. F	. N.	Pl.	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-u	-е	-е	-a	-e

4. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS (nom. case only)

		Icelandi	ic		Faroese			NN		DN	= Da		Sw
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.	m.f.	n.	m.f.	n.
Sg.	s-á	s-ú	þa-ð	ta-nn	ta-nn	ta-ð	de-n		de-t	de-n	de-t	de-n	de-t
Pl.	þe-ir	þæ-r	þa-u	te-ir	tæ-r	te-y		de-i		de	[di]	de	(dom)
Sg.	þess-i	þess-i	þet-ta	hes-in	hen-da	het-ta	den-ne		det-te	den-ne	det-te	den-na	det-ta
P1.	þess-ir	þess-ar	þess-i	hes-ir	hes-ar	hes-i		des-se		di	is-se	d	es-sa
Sg.	hin-n	hín	hit-t	hin	hin	hit-t	hin	hi	hit-t	hin	hin-t	(hin)	
Pl.	hín-ir	hín-ar	hín	hin-ir	hin-ar	hin-i		hin-e		h	in-e	ļ	

In Sw den-ne is also used, chiefly of male beings.

## 5. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

				Iceland = Poss	lic s. Pr. F.)	(Gen	Faroese.			NN	Г	ON	:	Sw	Ι	Da
Case	s		Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Nom.	Acc.	Dat.	Nom.	Obj.	Nom.	Obj.	Nom.	Obj.	Nom.	Obj.
ı p.	Sg. Pl. Hor	n.	ég við vér	mig okkur oss	mér okkur oss	eg vit ,,	meg okkum ,,	mær okkum "	eg vi/me	meg oss	jeg vi "	meg oss	jag vi ,,	mig oss	jeg vi "	mig os ,,
2 p.	Sg. Pl. Hor	a.	þú þið þér	þig ykkur yður	þér ykkur yður	tú tit tygum	teg tykkum tygum	tær tykkum tygum	du de De	deg dykk Dykk	du dere De	deg dere Dem	du ni Ni	dig er Er	du I De	dig jer Dem
3 p.	Sg.	M.	hann	hann	honum	hann	hann	honum	han	han (honom)	han	ham (han)	han	honom	han	ham
		F.	hún	hana	henni	hon	hana	henni	ho	ho (henne)	hun	henne	hon	henne	hun	hende
		C.								` '	den	den	den	den	den	den
		N.	það	það	því	tað	tað	tí	det	det	det	det	det	det	det	det
	Pl.	M.	þeir	þá	þeim	teir	teir	teimum	dei	dei	de	dem	de	dem	de	dem
		_											[då	ımm]		
		F.	þær	þær	,,	tær	tær	**	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	Daf	N.	þau	þau	,,	tey	tey	,,	,,	,,	,,	"	,,	,,,	,,	,,
	Ref	1.		sig	sér		seg	sær		seg		seg		sig		sig

In Icelandic the Gen. is not = Poss. Pr. F. in okkar, ykkar, vor.

6. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS (only nom. sg. of inflected pron.)

			Iceland	ic		Faroese	е		NN		1	ON		Sw	L	)a
Gen	der	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.	C.	N.	C.	N.	C.	N.
1 p.	Sg. Pl.	minn okkarr	mín okkur	mitt okkart	mín	mín okkara	mítt	min vår	mi vår	mitt vårt	min vår	mitt vårt	min vår	mitt vårt	min vor (usu.	mit vort vores)
	Hon.	vor	vor	vort	(vár	vár	várt)	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
2 p.	Sg. Pl. Hon.	þinn ykkarr yðarr	þín ykkur yður	þitt ykkart yðart	tín	tín tykkara tygara	títt		di dykkaı Dykkaı			ditt res eres	din er Er	ditt ert Ert		dit res eres
3 p.	Sg. M. F. N./C. Pl. M.F.N. Refl.	sinn	hans hennar þess þeirra sín	sitt	sín	hansara hennara tess teirra sín	sítt	sin	hans hennar dess deira si	sitt	her dets	nnes /dens eres sitt		nes	her	ndes dens res sit

## 7. NUMERALS

	Icelar	ndic (on	ly nom.)	Faro	ese (only	nom.)		NN	1		DN			Sw		Da	
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.	m.	(f.)	n.	c.		n.	c.	n.
1	einn	ein	eitt	ein	ein	eitt	ein	ei	eitt	en	(ei)	ett	en		ett	en	et
2	tveir	tvær	tvö	tveir	tvær	tvey		to		l	to			två		to	
3	þrír	þrjár	þrjú	tríggir	tríggjar	trý		tre/t	ri	1	tre			tre		tre	
4	fjórir	fjórar	fjögur		fýra		1	fire			fire			fyra		fire	
5 6		fimm			fimm			fem			fem			fem		fen	
6		sex			seks			sek		i	seks		1	sex		sek	S
7		sjö			sjey			sju			sju/sy		1	sju		syv	7
8		átta			átta			åtte	9		åtte			åtta		otte	
9		níu			níggju		İ	ni			ni			io [niə]		ni	
10		tíu			tíggju		l	ti		1	ti		t	io [tiə]		ti	
11		ellefu			ellivu			ellev	_		ellev	-		elva		ellev	
12		tólf			tólv		1	toly		l	tolv		ļ	tolv		tol	
13		þrettá	n		trettan			trette		ĺ	trette			n [tret		trett	en
20		tuttug	u		tjúgu			tju		١	tjue/ty			go [tjug	-	tyv	e
21	tut	tugu og		e	in og tjú	gu	tjuee		og tjue			og tyve		jugoen		en og	
30		þrjátiu			tretivu			tret		t	retti/tr			tio [tre		tredi	
40		fjőrutí			fjøruti		1	ført	_	ļ	ført			tio [før		fyrre(t	
50		fimmtí	u		hálvtrýs	S		fem		Ì	femt			tio [fen		halvtr	
60		sextíu	-		trýss		1	seks			sekst	-		tio [sex	-	tred	
70		sjötíu	l		hálvfjerð	S		sytt			sytt			tio [sju		halvfje	
8 <b>o</b>		áttatíu	1		fýrs			åtti	_		åtti		1	tio [ått	-	firs	
90		níutív	-		hálvfems			nitt	-		nitti	-		tio [nit	ti]	halvfe	
100		hundra	ιð		hundrað	5	ĺ	hund	lre		hund	re	l I	nundra		hundr	ede
ıst	fyrsti	fyrsta	fyrsta	fyrsti	fyrsta	fyrsta	fe	rste/f	yrste		først	е		första		først	te
2nd	annar	önnur	annað	annar	onnur	annað		andi	re	l	anne	n		andra		ande	en
7th		sjö-und	di		sjey-ndi			sju-ar	nde	sju-	ende/sy	v-ende	s	ju-nde		syv-e	nde
11th		ellef-t	i		elliv-ti			ellev-	-te	_	ellev-			elf-te		ellev	-te
13th		þrettán.	-di		trettan-d	i	t	rettan	ı-de		tretten	-de	tre	tton-d	e	tretter	ı- de

8. VERBS

## A: Stem Classes

	Ic	elandi	ic			Faro	oese			NN			DN			Sw			Da	
	Pres. (Sg. <u>i</u> )	Pret.		Pp.	Pres. (Sg. <u>i</u> )	Pret Sg.	P1.	Pp.	Pres. (Sg. <u>i</u> )	Pret.	Pp.	Pres.	Pret.	Pp.	Pres.	Pret.	Pp.	Pres.	Pret.	Pp.
Str. 1	bit-	ei	i	i	bít-	ei	i	i	bit-	ei	i	bit-	e	i	bit-	е	i	bid-	e	i
2	n <i>jó</i> t-	au	u	o	n <i>jó</i> t-	ey	u	0	njot-	au	О	nyt-	Ø	У	njut-	ö	u	nyd-	Ø	У
3	finn-	a	u	u	finn-	a	u	u	finn-	a	u	finn-	a	u	finn	a	u	find-	a	u
4	ber-	a	á	O	ber-	a	ó	O	ber-	a	О	bær-	a	å	b <i>ä</i> r-	a	$\mathbf{u}$	bær-	a	å
5	gef-	a	á	e	gef-	a	ó	i	gjev-	a	e	gi-	a	i	giv-	a	i	giv-	a	i
6	far-	ó	ó	a	far-	ó	ó	а	far-	O	a	far-	0	а	far-	0	a	far-	0	a
7	grát-	é	é	á	gr <i>á</i> t-	æ	ó	á	gråt-	e	å	gr <b>å</b> t-	å	å	gr <b>å</b> t-	ä	å	græd-	æ	æ
Wk. 1 2a 2b 3	elska- vel(j)- dæm(i)- trú(i)-	elska val-o dæm trú(a	d- 1-d-		elska- vel(j)- døm(i)- trú(gv)		elska- val-d døm- trú-ð	- d-	elska- vel(j)- døm(e tru-	val )- dø	ka(-d-) -d- n-d- -dd-	elsk- velg- dømn tro-	val 1- dør	k-et g-t- n-t- -dd-	älska- väl(j)- döm- tro-	älska- val-d döm- tro-de	d-	elsk- vælg- døm- (tro-	valg-t	;- t-

## 8. VERBS (cont.)

B: Suffixes

## (1) On Present Stem

	Lan	guage	;		Iceland	lic		Faroes	e	NN	DN	Sw	Da
S Suff	fixes			1 p.	2 p.	3 p.	ı p.	2 p.	3 p.	1-2-3 p.	1-2-3 p.	1-2-3 p.	1-2-3 p.
Pres.	Indic.	Sg. Pl. Sg. Pl.	Str. Wk.	-um -i -um	i-ur -r -ið -ir -ið	i-ur -r -a -i	-i -i	i-(u)r -r -a -i	i-(u)r -r	i -(a)r i/-(a)r -e	'er -er 'er/-er -e	'er -r 'er/-r -e	-'er -er -'er/-er -e
Inf. Imp. Pres.	Part.				-a  -andi			-a  -andi		-a  -ande	-e -ende	-a  -ande	-e -ende

## (2) On Preterite/perf. part. Stem

Pret. Indic	. Sg.	Str.		-st			-st								
Subj.	Pl. Sg. Pl.	Wk. [Pl.+]	-i -um <sup>i</sup> -i <sup>i</sup> -um	-ir -uð <sup>i</sup> -ir <sup>i</sup> -uð	-i -u <sup>i</sup> -i <sup>i</sup> -u	}	-i -u = Pret		(-e (-o	(		/-e /-e = Pret.	-e (-o) (= P	ret. Pl.)	-e /-e = Pret.
Perf. Part.	Nom. Sg.	Str. Wk.	M. -inn -ur	F. -in <sub>u</sub>	N. -ið	M. -in -ur	F. -in	N. -ið -(t)	M. -en	-en/-i	N. -e/-i /-t	) =(e)r/=aa (	C. -en -d	N. -et/-it -t	} -(e)t



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